

**NOTES ON WHICH TO CONSTRUCT
A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF**

EDWARD DACRES BAYNES

(1790-1863)

ANONYMOUS AUTHOR OF

CHILDE HAROLD IN THE SHADES

AN INFERNAL ROMAUNT

(LONDON 1819)

BY

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PREFACE

Close to thirty years ago, I was introduced by a friend of mine, William St. Clair, to a poem entitled *Childe Harold in the Shades. An Infernal Romaunt*. We share a deep interest in Greece in the first years of the nineteenth century, in Philhellenes involved in the events of those years, and in Elgin and Byron whose visits to Athens have never been forgotten. Here was an anonymous work of satire, printed in London in 1819, that brought together several of our interests: the author, borrowing the format and hero of the poem that made Byron instantly famous, the fourth canto of which had just been published, had placed the Pilgrim among the inhabitants of Hades, many of whom he recognized, and there he witnessed a contest for the position of the Prince of Fools, won, against all comers, by Thomas, Earl of Elgin. That the unknown author nursed a deep animosity for Elgin and his "trading fingers" and was continuing with obvious zest a battle that Byron, among others, had earlier fought was clear enough. But who was this writer who held such strong views and threw insults so widely? I agreed to try to find out, for a proper understanding of the poem demanded, or seemed so, that its author be known.

An immediate answer was in fact not hard to find. Although the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* listed *Childe Harold in the Shades* as an anonymous work, not so the *National Union Catalog*, which since 1969 has recognized, in square brackets, Edward Dacres Baynes as the author. And the evidence for the identification is Baynes' own statement below his name on the title-page of a collection of poems, *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems*, that he also issued in 1819: "Translator of Ovid's Epistles; Author of *Childe Harold in the Shades*." As far as he was concerned, he openly acknowledged his authorship within a few months of publication.

However easy the search for the author's name had turned out to be, the answer, an essential beginning though it was, raised a much harder question: Who was Edward Dacres Baynes? Without that knowledge we had barely moved beyond anonymity.

For the last several years, as time and opportunity have permitted, I have looked for clues that would lead me to Edward Dacres Baynes, his forbears and his family, so that we may understand, however imperfectly, something of the man who wrote with such hostility of Lord Elgin.

By September 2001 I thought that I had put together enough notes to construct an acceptable picture of Baynes' life, gaps though there were in the story, and I assembled in a manuscript of 120 pages my answer to the question posed to me by William St. Clair about the identity of that man. But I was wrong to think that my work was finished, for in early September 2002 I learned through the internet that a Mr. Ronald Baynes living in Ottawa was interested in obtaining information about Edward Dacres Baynes. I responded with alacrity and through this great-great-grandson of the first Baynes to come to the West Indies and who himself began life in Antigua, I have greatly increased my knowledge of the family, such that I have had to rewrite parts of my manuscript to include names and dates and other facts that until now were unknown to me. I am indeed grateful to Ronald Baynes for sharing with me the results of his research and that of several cousins, Heather Murray, Jonathan Baynes and his father Robert D. Baynes whose letters and notes, especially Robert's "Baynes' Family History" with its sections on Edward Dacres Baynes, his father Thomas and his son Edwin, the text of which I received on January 15 and 21, 2003, have proved of very great value. I am particularly glad that I can now speak of E. D. Baynes' wife, Francesca Gaetana, whom, according to the tradition passed down in the family, he met in Catania while on military service in Sicily, and of their three daughters, Maria, Francesca and Carolina, who survived childhood together with one brother, Edwin, to share their parents' life both on Montserrat and Antigua.

Postscript 9 October 2004 "Tinkering" with Draft 7 of this manuscript during the past week, I have come to the conclusion that for the special benefit of Baynes' descendants I should make available to them their forbear's anonymous work now largely forgotten and unobtainable. To that end I have included in Appendix 8 a typed copy of the printed version in the Library of Harvard University with original pagination omitted.

1. BIRTH

Edward Dacres Baynes (referred to as EDB below) was the eldest son of Thomas Baynes, Commander, R. N. (according to the notice of his death that appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* [vol. 216, January-June 1864]). There is a very specific indication of the date of EDB's birth in the *List of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from the Year 1716 to the Year 1899* (4th Edition London and Beccles 1900), in which it is recorded that Edward Davis (a mistake for Dacres as can be shown) Baynes was commissioned on 1 October 1808 at the age of 18 years and 5 months, thus placing his birth in the spring of 1790.

Two other indications of the year of his birth should also be noted. In a book of poems published by EDB in 1819 he described the three *Pastorals* that head the collection as having been "written upwards of ten years since, when he had not completed his 16th year." This statement, if taken literally and assumed to be accurate at the time of publication, would place his birth either in 1793 or 1794. The third source of information is the official record of EDB's burial, in which his age at death is recorded as 68, thus also indicating 1793 or 1794 as the year of birth. It is worth noting, however, that on the day previous to the funeral EDB's son did not indicate his father's age on the certificate of death.

Despite this apparent focus on the years 1793 and 1794, it is the date 1790 that should be recognized as the most likely; otherwise EDB's first commission occurred when he was uncommonly young and there is little time for the birth of a second brother Thomas between him and his youngest brother Robert Lambert (referred to as RLB below) born in the summer or autumn of 1796.

Without further evidence, I believe it reasonable to accept the computation derived from the published military records that EDB was born in the spring of 1790.

2. FAMILY

(a)

EDB's **father** was Thomas Baynes, who was commissioned Lieutenant in the Royal Navy on 22 June 1782 and promoted Commander 1 June 1815 (*The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660-1815*, edited by David Syrett and R. L. Dinardo [Aldershot 1994] p. 25). His final posting was as secretary and second in command of the Royal Naval Asylum at Greenwich, where he died on 13 February 1818 as recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "At Greenwich, Capt. [Note the rank; in the death notices of both EDB and RLB he is referred to as Commander] Thomas Baynes, Royal Military Asylum." His **mother** was Edith Collins (née Stanway), widow of Col. Anthony Collins, and after her death in 1807 Commander Baynes married Augusta Caroline Compton.

EDB's younger **brothers** were Thomas (d. 1847) and Robert Lambert (1796-1869) who according to records from the Parish of Millbrook, Hampshire, was baptized on 9 October 1796. (The information about the date of the christening is drawn from the *International Genealogical Index* [1984].) Like their father and brother both entered the armed service. Here is the notice of Thomas' death on 27 May 1847 that appeared in the *Annual Register* of that year: "At Brussels, Captain Thomas Baynes, formerly of the 39th and 88th Regiments. This veteran served in the Peninsular campaigns, and was present at Waterloo, where he acted as Aide-de-Camp to General Sir John Lambert, G. C. B." The notice might also have reported that Thomas was entitled to wear the Waterloo Medal. (For confirmation of these facts, see, for example, Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call* [London 1978] p.5.) He was commissioned Ensign in the 39th Regiment of Foot, Captain Thomas Dacres' regiment, on 27 October 1808, the same month and year as EDB received his first commission, proof of the closeness of their age. The general he served at Waterloo, son of Robert Alexander Lambert and nephew of the Miss Lambert who married Surgeon-Major Arthur Baynes, was reported in *Burke's*

Landed Gentry (17th Edition [London 1952] 1090) in the entry involving the marriage of Mary Frances Hunt-Grubbe (of Eastwell) to Thomas Baynes to have been his uncle, strong evidence that some familial relationship was recognized, a common enough circumstance involving aides-de-camp. In this instance, however, I think it unlikely that General Lambert and Captain Baynes were uncle and nephew but first cousins once removed.

RLB, the youngest of the three brothers, entered the Royal Navy on 19 April 1810, achieved the rank of Captain on 8 July 1828 and that of Admiral on 5 May 1865, and was made Commander of the Order of the Bath on 13 November 1828 and Knight Commander on 18 May 1860. On 8 July 1846 he married Frances Denman, third surviving daughter of Thomas 1st Lord Denman, and among their children was Denman Lambert Baynes, EDB's **nephew**, born 8 September 1851, who served in the 75th Regiment of Foot from 1870 until his death at Alexandria in 1882, a veteran officer of the war in South Africa. RLB distinguished himself at the Battle of Navarino, serving on HMS Asia as Second-Captain.

O'Byrne in his *Naval Dictionary*, published in 1849, records in the article on Admiral Sir Robert Lambert Baynes that RLB as Midshipman served successively between 1813 and 1818 on HMS Duncan and HMS Royal Sovereign, "both commanded by Capt. Robt. Lambert Baynes." Given the similarity of names, it would be reasonable to ask whether Captain R. L. Baynes was a brother of Commander Thomas Baynes and thus an uncle of both EDB and RLB. O'Byrne's information about Captain Baynes is however wrong. He is not listed among the commissioned sea officers in the Royal Navy, and the captain of the two ships mentioned was Robert Stuart Lambert, later Vice-Admiral, Thomas Baynes' first cousin and **first cousin once removed** of his sons (see below for the evidence of this relationship).

Direct information about his paternal grandparents have not as yet been found. One might assume, however, that his second name, Dacres, and that of his brother RLB, Lambert, reflect significant family connections. The following obituary from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1808 under the date November 20 is therefore of great interest in that it provides definitive evidence of those linkages: "At Brixham, in Devonshire, aged upwards of 50, Captain Thomas Dacres, formerly captain in the 39th Regiment of Foot, younger brother of Admiral James Richard D. late commander in chief on the Jamaica station, and one of the sons of — D. esq.

formerly attorney-general at Gibraltar [= Richard Dacres, Secretary to the Garrison], who was a native of Cumberland, where his father and elder brother possessed a patrimony, the remnant of the noble estate of Gillesland, the head seat of that antient barony. Captain D. commenced his career as a midshipman under Lord St. Vincent, at the same time with Lord Hugh Seymour, Lord Radstock, and the late Hon. Capt. Finch. About 1787 he married Miss A. Baynes, daughter of Arthur B.esq. then surgeon-general at Gibraltar, by a daughter of Sir John Lambert, bart. afterwards a banker at Paris; which lady was killed by the falling of a scaffolding at the marriage of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI. Captain D. was a man of the most amiable disposition, and universally beloved and admired for his mild and polished manners, and social affections, by his friends and acquaintance, who were very numerous, and among the highest and most respectable ranks of society. He has left no issue."

The *Times* reported the death of Arthur Baynes: "On Thursday last [25 June 1789], at Southampton, where he was for the recovery of his health, Arthur Baynes, Esq. Surgeon-Major to the Garrison of Gibraltar, and of the Hospital of that place." The entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1789 added the information that he was "aged 65." Assuming that he was thus born about 1723 and married no earlier than in his 20's, then the Miss Lambert whom he married will have been the daughter of Sir John Lambert, 2nd Bt. (1690-1772), sister of John Lambert, 3rd Bt, and of Robert Alexander Lambert, Captain in the Royal Navy, and aunt of Vice-Admiral Robert Stuart Lambert (mentioned above in connection with RLB's career) and of General Sir John Lambert (see above for the connection with the career of Thomas Baynes, Captain in the 39th Regiment of Foot). We are probably justified in identifying her as Judith Lambert who, according to an entry in the *International Genealogical Index* (1984), married Arthur Baynes on 17 September 1751 at St. Benet's in the City of London. As for her dramatic fall, she died at the end of May, 1770, in one of the festivities associated with the wedding of the Dauphin and Marie Antoinette. According to a contemporary account published in the *Annual Register* for 1770, "A scaffold, erected near the palace of Bourbon, broke down with the over-weight of the spectators, who all fell into the river. There have been already taken up above a hundred drowned at St. Cloud, but many bodies have been driven beyond that place." It was their daughter, Miss A. Baynes, who married Thomas Dacres. The simplest way to explain the use of the name Dacres as the middle name of the eldest son of Thomas Baynes is to assume that Thomas Baynes and Thomas Dacres were brothers-in-law, and that Miss A. Baynes as well

as Miss Mary Baynes, daughter of Arthur and Judith Baynes christened in Chelsea on 2 March 1755, were Thomas Baynes' sisters and so EDB's **aunts**. And if these relationships are correct, then Arthur Baynes, who had lived through Gibraltar's Great Siege as a doctor, was EDB's paternal **grandfather** and Judith Lambert his **grandmother**, thus providing an explanation for the use of Lambert as a middle name.

A family tree based on the above is presented in Appendix 1.

(b)

From EDB's forbears I now turn to his wife and their descendants. The name, thus the family, of his **wife** was not known to me in the early stages of my research, but in January 2003 through my contact with Ronald Baynes I learned that her name was Francesca Gaetano, a member of the distinguished Sicilian family of Paterno Castello from Catania. The story of their meeting, romance and marriage is told in a note sent to Ronald Baynes by Heather Murray.

Daughter of Ignatius di San Guliano, grand daughter of the Marchese di San Guliano, Francesca was a novice in a convent in Sicily when she met Lieutenant Baynes, a young British officer on leave from his regiment stationed in Malta. Young Baynes called at the convent for some refreshment and catching sight of the young novice was so taken by her beauty that he made excuses to call again on succeeding days. In spite of the restrictions of convent life he obviously was able to win her interest and affection which blossomed into love which was strong enough to overcome their differences in religion and her desire to commit herself to a life in a convent. With the help of her lover, Francesca escaped from the convent and married him in 1818

The same basic account is told in another note.

He [=EDB] later saw service with the Garrison in Malta and used to spend his leave exploring nearby Mediterranean countries. On one such holiday in Sicily in 1818 he met and subsequently married Francesca who was at that time a novice at a convent on the island.

While some of the details surrounding this story of the meeting of EDB and Francesca and their romance are possibly true, there are a number of elements that are otherwise. Francesca's father was Ignatius Gaetana, and EDB's company was never stationed in Malta, but saw continuous service at Messina in Sicily. As for what we know about his activities in 1818, throughout that year he was a member of the Invalid Battalion, Captain Burslem's Company, at Woolwich; he saw to the publication of his translation of *Ovid's Epistles* with preface dated 7 February, and to the production as well as the publication of his farce *Love and Laudanum* with

preface dated 2 April; and by the end of the year had ready for publication in January 1819 a poem of 131 stanzas divided into two cantos entitled *Childe Harold in the Shades*. Another event that must have affected EDB's life for a time at least in 1818 was the death of his father on February 13. The combination of these happenings and continued service in the Royal Artillery makes it seem unlikely that EDB met and married his wife in 1818. A more reasonable year would be 1819 following his retirement from the regiment on March 1 at full pay, and the appearance of his final publication during this period of his life, *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems*, which was first reviewed in May 1819. Just as the year of their marriage is in some doubt despite the reference to 1818, so is the place of the ceremony for which there is no evidence. We can perhaps assume that the couple lived in England for a year or two before they moved to Malta, for we can calculate from EDB's letter to W. E. Gladstone on 26 March 1846 in application for leave in which he wrote that he had not "during the past twenty five years passed but one at home," that he left England in 1821. What is known for certain is that by 1834, when they left Malta for Jamaica, they had a family of eight children, one of whom, and not the eldest, Edwin Donald Baynes, was born in 1828 in Malta, the year and place of birth confirmed by his birth certificate. Was this decision to live abroad associated with his marriage and the beginning of a family? Certainly a date for that event in, or close to, 1819 provides time enough for the births of the eight children who were alive in 1834, and for a number who may have died in infancy. But is it adequate for the seventeen children mentioned in one of the notes provided by Heather Murray?

Edward and Francesca had seventeen children, thirteen of whom died in early infancy or childhood. Of ten sons, only one survived, Edwin born in 1828.

The answer surely is that the birth of seventeen children within a space of fifteen years is most unlikely though not totally beyond possibility. So much depends on the number of premature or stillborn births that Mrs. Baynes suffered. One could also suggest by way of an explanation that the number seventeen includes some births that took place in Jamaica. I personally think this to be unlikely because although EDB mentions on several occasions in official letters to the Colonial Office details about the family of eight who accompanied him to Jamaica and of the eight the four who survived to maturity, he never talks of children being born to him and his wife in the West Indies.

Of their eight **children** who travelled from Malta to Jamaica, the name of

one son is known to me, Edwin Donald (1828-84), but there were also three daughters who survived to maturity, Maria (b. 1823), Francesca (b. 1825) and Carolina (b. 1827), the order of the names and the dates of birth as given by Heather Murray and her sister Gillian. EDB in a letter dated 10 January 1838 that was passed to the Colonial Office in London reported that in the three and a half years since coming to Jamaica four of his eight children had died. And in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle he gave more details: "I lost a son in August 1834, soon after my arrival. Another, my eldest, in the following month. A third in 1836, and two daughters subsequently." One of these two daughters will have died before 10 January 1838. The remaining four children, one boy and three girls, all were alive thirteen years later when EDB wrote from Montserrat to Earl Grey on 18 January 1851: "One of my daughters is already in a state of destitution and with her infant family entirely dependent on the scanty aid my narrow circumstances will permit; another lives in the daily dread of being obliged to proceed to the most unhealthy spot even in the West Indies; a third is in my house an unprovided widow and now likely to remain so." The fourth child, the one surviving son, was by this time Montserrat's Colonial Secretary. Of the three daughters, one, possibly the one in "destitution," had married John Dobridge, who in 1851 was the Senior Member of the Island's Legislative Council, first appointed in 1827, Captain Gunner and Escheator of Causal [sic] Revenue, and another, probably the one in "daily dread," had married in the summer of 1850 John Osborn, appointed Stipendiary Magistrate in 1841. Between January 1851 and the end of March 1852 when in a letter to Sir John Pakington EDB wrote of the loss of "the lives of more than half of my family," [an earlier reference in a letter from EDB to Earl Grey dated 25 January 1847 to "the successive deaths of not less than five members of my family in Jamaica" is surely a mistake for four], one of these three daughters died, leaving two who on 3 February 1855 their brother described thus: "I have two sisters, both widows of public servants who have died in the service, residing with and entirely dependent upon me besides an increasing family of my own." The words of both father and son have a familiar sound.

Edwin Donald Baynes, the son, (1828-84) had a distinguished career in the Colonial Office, first serving as Colonial Secretary and Clerk of the Crown for Montserrat (1850-54), his appointment dated 6 August 1850, and ending his career on Antigua, where he was first sent in 1863, as Lieutenant Governor of the Leeward Islands (1876-84). In 1877 he was made Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. In early editions of the *Colonial Office List* it is recorded that he

acted as "private secretary to the president of Montserrat from 1842 to 1850." Given his birth in 1828, his first service in the Caribbean began at the age of 14 in his father's office.

The *Colonial Office List* for 1895 records the names of three officers with the surname Baynes, all active in the West Indies, Edward (H.), Edwin (D. L.), and Thomas. Edward began his career as private secretary to the governor of the Leeward Islands (1869), Edwin as second clerk, governor's office, Leeward Islands (1875), and Thomas as acting solicitor-general, Leeward Islands (1881). From the records of births, marriages and deaths contained in The National Archives of Antigua and Barbuda, it can be shown that these three contemporaries were the sons of Edwin Donald Baynes and Sarah Goodall [the name is sometimes reported as Goodale], member of a prominent Montserrat family, and the **grandsons** of EDB; and that St. John's, Antigua, to which they came with their father in 1863, remained for many years their home.

The eldest, Edward Hercules Robinson Arthur Baynes (ca. 1855-99), named in part after Hercules Robinson, later Baron Rosmead, who had been president of Montserrat for most of 1854 and part of 1855, saw service not only in Antigua but also in Montserrat and Dominica. At the time of his fatal heart attack he was Acting Colonial Secretary of the Leeward Islands, and just days before had accepted the post of Assistant Government Secretary, British Guiana. The same issue of the *Antigua Standard* that announced his death also offered him congratulations on his new appointment "which we hope will lead to a higher rank still, such as his abilities and past services merit." In addition to his widow, he was survived by seven children, the eldest aged 19.

The second son, Edwin Donald Lambert Baynes, was born about 1856; like his other two brothers he was married on Antigua and the first six of his children were born there. Following his initial service as second clerk on Antigua, he spent a number of years in various positions on St. Christopher (1878-81), a second period on Antigua (1881-88), three years on Anguilla (1888-91), and a final posting on Dominica (1891-93) as provost-marshal and registrar together with other major duties. Like his eldest brother, he died barely middle-aged.

Thomas Baynes, born in 1857 and the third son according to his entry in *Who's Who* for 1903, was trained in law at the Middle Temple and called to the

bar in 1878. He entered government service in 1881 on Antigua as acting solicitor-general, in which office he was confirmed in 1886. Three years later he was appointed puisne judge for the Leeward Islands, and in 1898 2nd puisne judge on the supreme court of Trinidad and Tobago, later rising to 1st, in which position he died in 1902, a youthful man like his elder brothers. He was married twice, his first wife dying before they had issue. Two children from his second marriage were born on Antigua.

A fourth **grandson**, Egbert D. Baynes, remembered as Bertie by his illegitimate daughter, deserves special mention for he went "native," preferring the feckless life of a planter to the demands of the recognized professions as followed by his elder brothers, and lived with several colored women by whom he had a number of children. One of these, Nurse Doris Baynes-Andrea, still lives in St. John's, remembers her father and the hostile attitude of his family towards her, and maintains the family name despite her marriage. She speaks of herself as eighty-nine (in March 1996), and is probably EDB's sole surviving **great-grandchild** on Antigua. Appendix 3 is a record of some of her comments about her father and his family. Initially I had difficulties placing Bertie within the scheme of EDB's descendants shown in Appendix 2, but with the information recently provided by Ronald Baynes I am confident that he is rightly considered the youngest son of Edwin D. Baynes.

Heather Murray reports that Edwin had five sons, This fifth would be Edgar about whom there is limited information other than a number of references to an uncle of his name.

From the registrations of births in the Parish of St. John's, Antigua, I have recovered details on the births of twelve (there were others born elsewhere) of EDB's legitimate **great-grandchildren**, six males, six females. This information on the descendants of EDB is presented as a family tree in Appendix 2. Of the **great-grandsons**, two had successful careers in the Colonial Office, their work centered around the Caribbean: Edward William Baynes (1880-1962), eldest son of Edward H. R. A. Baynes, who after ten years (1925-35) as Colonial Secretary of the Leeward Islands ended his government service as Commissioner of St. Lucia (1935-38); and Thomas Edwin Percival Baynes (1884- 1952), who after a long series of posts beginning in Trinidad in 1903 ended his career, like several of his

forbears, as Commissioner of Montserrat (1932-46). Both were admitted to the Order of the British Empire.

There are a number of other persons on Antigua of “mixed” descent bearing the surname Baynes; some of these will be EDB’s **great-great-great-grandchildren**.

3. CAREER

(a)

At the age of 18 years and 5 months according to the *List of Officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from the Year 1716 to the Year 1899*, “collected” by General W. H. Askwith, EDB on 1 October 1808 received his commission as 2nd Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery. For the previous three years, from 3 September 1805, he had been a Gentleman Cadet enrolled in the Royal Military Academy, among the first to experience the new buildings established on Woolwich Common. In the first edition of the *List of Officers* referred to above (Greenwich 1815) EDB is listed as Edward D. Baynes, but in the fourth (London and Beccles 1900) as Edward Davis Baynes. Comparable difficulties with his middle name can be traced in the *Army List* where EDB’s association with the Royal Artillery can be documented from his first appearance in the edition for 1809 to the last in 1833. For the years 1809 to 1817 his name is given as Edward D — Baynes, the same system of a capital letter followed by a dash being also used for his brother regimental officers with a middle name; from 1817 to 1831 he becomes Edward Davis Baynes; and in 1832 he is correctly labelled Edward Dacres Baynes. I say correctly because it can be immediately shown by an examination of company records such as muster and pay rolls that Edward D — Baynes signed himself as Edward Dacres Baynes. Furthermore, despite these changes in his published nomenclature, the dates of his commission as 2nd Lieutenant or as 1st Lieutenant remain the same as does his relative seniority. In the *Army List* for 1833, “Baynes Inv. Art.” is laconically noted among the “Casualties since the last Publication,” in his case through commutation of his pension by a one-time payment.

To seek a career in either the navy or army was a very natural decision for EDB, given both his father's long service as a commissioned officer in the navy and the national need for young officers to take part in the Napoleonic wars. EDB held his commission in the Royal Regiment of Artillery from 1808 to 1832, that is, for twenty four years, almost one-third of his life, but of that amount only eleven years can be thought of as active service, the remainder, the last fourteen years, being described officially as "retired on full pay." As 2nd Lieutenant EDB saw his first action in Holland in the Walcheren Expedition, one that began with the glorious setting forth from the Downs by Lord Chatham on 28 July 1809 and ended with the calamitous withdrawal of the last British troops five months later from Walcheren on December 22, a defeat brought about by bad planning and the ravages of disease.

Promoted to 1st Lieutenant on 8 May 1811, EDB was soon after posted to Captain Henry Hickman's Company, the 8th Battalion, stationed in Sicily at Messina. The company's muster roll for October 1811 records that "First Lieut. E. D. Baynes joined this Company from England." Before the end of that month EDB was to learn of the dangers of that theater of war so close to the Calabrian coast: his brother officer 1st Lieutenant J. C. Bloomfield was "killed by a Shot from the Enemy on the 29th . . . ;" and in the course of the next month, November, he was to gain direct experience of a natural disaster, the "great eruption of Aetna." Although his company did not move from Messina during its stay on Sicily, EDB made a second ascent of Mount Aetna in 1812, stayed at Syracuse during the summer of 1814, and became familiar with Taormina and Catania according to remarks he made in his publication *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems* (London 1819); and in one of the notes to his poem *Childe Harold in the Shades* (London 1819) he wrote that he had been in Athens "and is acquainted with the value of money there," the point of reference in the poem being Lord Elgin and the line "Thy trading fingers make their Parthenon a prey." It is clear that EDB used his time in Sicily to get to know the island, at least its east coast, and to travel to Greece.

In the spring of 1814 EDB served with the artillery commanded by Lieut. Col. Lemoine in Major-General Montresor's division within the army led by Lord William Bentinck in the attack on Genoa, which surrendered to Bentinck on April 21 with the marching out of the French garrison. In the main attack that began at

day-break on April 17, General Montresor led the advance, and in his despatch to Earl Bathurst Lord Bentinck recorded his special praise for his associate: "To Major-General Montresor I am also much indebted: all the operations intrusted to his charge were conducted with great judgement and vigour." And the divisional commander also had his list of those who had earned public thanks. One of those was EDB, whose name appeared in Montresor's General Orders.

By the summer, 1814, EDB was back in Sicily, and he remained with his company at Messina until January 1815. In February, however, the muster rolls record that he was "with leave" and for the remaining months of 1815 and the first four of 1816 he remained in England. On 1 May 1816 EDB was transferred from Hickman's Company to the 4th Battalion and on 1 September 1817 was posted to the Invalid Battalion, Captain M. W. Burslem's Company, at Woolwich. EDB's condition was described in the muster-roll for 1817 as either sick or lame. His father explained his son's condition in a letter to his brother Robert Lambert dated 14 November 1817 (in the possession of Robert Dacres Baynes).

Your brother Edward has been obliged from necessity to go into the Invalid Battalion of the Royal Artillery in consequence of a complaint in his leg called varicose veins for which, I understand, there is no cure; it renders him quite unfit for active service, a melancholy case at so early an age, his mind is as active as ever, and he wishes to begin the study of law, he may make a good conveyancer, as that does not require much labour of the legs, although it is recommended that he should walk as much as possible. He is obliged to wear laced stockings from foot to knee to prevent the enlargement of the veins, his bodily health is good but he walks lame from pain.

EDB's address during his last year of official service was Mulgrave Place, Woolwich, which he used in the preface to his play *Love and Laudanum* (London 1818) performed in Woolwich Theatre. On 1 March 1819 EDB retired from the Royal Regiment of Artillery on full pay, one month after his company — the 49th — had been disbanded.

The one and a half years that EDB was actively associated with the Invalid Battalion were also for him a period of intense literary activity during which he published four books: *Ovid's Epistles, translated into English Verse*, vol. 1 (London 1818) with the preface dated 7 February 1818; *Love and Laudanum; or, The Sleeping Dose: A Farce, in Two Acts* (London 1818) with the preface dated 2 April 1818; *Childe Harold in the Shades. An Infernal Romaunt* (London 1819), first reviewed in January 1819; and *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems* (London 1819), first reviewed in May 1819. When *Childe Harold* was published, no author's name was printed on the title-page. However, on the title-page of

Pastorals, published no more than four months later, the author's name appears thus: "By E. D. Baynes, Esq. Translator of Ovid's Epistles; Author of Childe Harold in the Shades." Although EDB openly stated that the *Pastorals* were written when he was fifteen and are "now printed *verbatim* from a manuscript of that age," this modest admission should not diminish our amazement at his accomplishments in so short a time. EDB would appear to have been as fluent at writing verses as he was at reading Latin, and both abilities went back to his school-days. During this same period, when EDB was involved in the production of his play, Thomas Baynes, his father, died on 13 February 1818 in the Royal Military Asylum. Appendix 4 contains an annotated list of EDB's publications, and Appendix 5 a gathering of the reviews that followed their appearance.

(b)

Of the thirteen years between 1 March 1819 and 28 March 1832, the former the date on which EDB retired on full pay from the Royal Artillery, the latter the day on which he commuted his pension for a lump sum of £700 and thus officially ended his career as a commissioned officer, there is very little to record about his activities. His literary publications cease as abruptly as they began, even though he had promised further volumes of *Ovid's Epistles*. From the letter which he wrote to W. E. Gladstone in 1846, we can believe that he left England in 1821, and from a later poem, *Annals of England* (London 1847), we can perhaps surmise that EDB was in Florence at some time in 1822. Possibly his departure and long sojourn abroad were associated with his marriage and the beginning of a family, to total eight surviving children by 1834, one of whom, Edwin Donald Baynes, was born in Malta in the spring of 1828, but I can find no records of the wedding or the births of their children in the Mormon *International Genealogical Index* (1984) for England or Malta, the latter the place of their residence at the time of EDB's move to Jamaica in 1834. Whatever the reasons for their stay in Malta, whatever their status, the lives of EDB, his family, his grandchildren and even of his great-grandchildren, were for ever changed by actions and decisions taken in England in 1833.

(c)

On 14 May 1833, Mr. Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, "explained the ministerial scheme to the [House of] Commons, in a committee of the whole

House,” to quote from the *Annual Register* for 1833, the subject of the speech being the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, a hotly discussed topic in the spring of that year. At the end of his presentation, Mr. Stanley moved five resolutions that, if passed, would provide the central principles to guide the final drafting of this proposed act of emancipation. The first and last resolutions were carried without the need for a vote; the other three occasioned considerable debate and division; but by June 25 both Houses, Commons and Lords, had agreed to the principles enunciated by the Colonial Secretary. The Bill for the Abolition of Slavery had its first reading on Friday, 5 July 1833, and was passed following third reading by the House of Commons on August 7, and by the House of Lords on August 20, despite the frequent opposition of the Duke of Wellington. Royal assent (by commission) was given on Wednesday, 28 August 1833. The next day, His Majesty King William IV, immediately before proroguing Parliament, commented on the bill that had now become law:

The state of slavery in my colonial possessions has necessarily occupied a portion of your time and your attention commensurate with the magnitude and the difficulty of the subject: whilst your deliberations have been guided by the paramount considerations of justice and humanity, the interests of the colonial proprietors have not been overlooked. I trust that the future proceedings of the Assemblies, and the conduct of all classes in my colonies, may be such as to give full effect to the benevolent intentions of the legislature, and to satisfy the just expectations of my people.

The two resolutions that were passed in June without division recognized both the principle of abolishing slavery and the need for providing special magistrates and educators to forward the process with “justice and humanity.” The first resolution read as follows: “That it is the opinion of this committee, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors;” and the fifth thus: “That his majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, and in aiding the local legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.” Although Mr. Stanley had made public the main elements of the proposed bill in discussions with interested parties outside the House prior to his speech of May 14, it was in that speech on the fifth resolution that one finds the first formal reference to the establishment of the stipendiary magistracy as one of the government’s aims. This first mention must have quickly led to the disclosure of some of the details surrounding the government’s plan to have a corps of magistrates, “men uninfluenced by the local assemblies, free from

local passions” to quote the Colonial Secretary, who were to play a crucial role in insuring that the proposed system of apprenticeship was carried out with unarguable fairness to both the negro and the proprietor. By July 25, in the discussion that followed the second reading of the bill, Mr. Stanley was able to report to the House, according to the account carried the next day in the *Times*, that “it was the intent of the government to send out the stipendiary magistrates as soon as possible, and that, notwithstanding all that had been said about the difficulty of procuring persons competent to discharge the duty in consequence of the lowness of the salary, the government had received numerous applications from persons well-fitted by their education for the situation,— he meant officers receiving half-pay in the army and navy.” Clearly before July 25 it was known that the government intended to pay these magistrates an annual salary of £300, an amount viewed as inadequate by some who had joined the debate.

EDB was one of those first applicants, and, even if he did not exactly fit the criterion of an officer on half-pay, he was quickly accepted and, according to his own evidence, received from Mr. Stanley an appointment as stipendiary magistrate on 4 September 1833, only one week after the act establishing this class of colonial officers had become law. Twelve days later, a letter of support from Colonel Cavendish Sturt of the 39th Regiment of Foot assuring Mr. Stanley that he had “always considered [Captain Baynes]. . . to be an active intelligent, and zealous officer, and his conduct that of a perfect gentleman” reached the Colonial Office from Bruges, and it was filed and indexed as if a reference for EDB. If indeed Capt. Thomas Baynes, who had served under Col. Sturt for eleven years and was on half-pay in 1833, did apply for appointment as stipendiary, then this letter intended for his benefit was never added to his file and he was unsuccessful. EDB, on the other hand, who in error became the beneficiary of Col. Sturt’s praise, won his appointment before the letter arrived. This tale of mistaken identity has an ironic edge in that EDB and Thomas Baynes were brothers.

EDB was in fact far from needing the support of Colonel Sturt to assure the success of his application for stipendiary magistrate. As he twice wrote to Earl Grey, in 1847 and 1851 both times soliciting a new appointment, he was recommended by “the late Lord Holland” for “the office of Special Justice to procure which . . . Lord Holland had kindly promised to use his influence.” In the earlier of the two letters, EDB even reminded Earl Grey, probably unnecessarily, that Lord Holland “was then a member of the cabinet,” and appended extracts from

some of his letters. Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland, was in 1833, as he was virtually throughout the 30's, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a senior and influential member of the Whig cabinet under Lord Grey, and later under Lord Melbourne, and a very strong advocate of the abolition of slavery through emancipation, even though such an action went against the financial interests of Lady Holland, who had inherited from her father a considerable West Indian property. From the excerpts of Lord [Vassall] Holland's letters sent to the Colonial Secretary, it is clear that in the years 1834 to 1839 His Lordship was an attentive "patron and friend" and took the time to give EDB letters of introduction to his attorney on Jamaica, and to the Governor Lord Sligo; to introduce him to Lord Seaford, a leading member of the House of Lords with respect to West Indian affairs, "as my friend and Mr. Frere's;" to tell EDB that Lord Sligo would do his best to find him a healthy situation, and that he had heard "favorable testimony to your services and good conduct;" to assure him that he and Bourne, another stipendiary magistrate, were "not likely in any scheme for promoting improvements to be overlooked," (and both were among those reappointed in 1838. Bourne, according to Philip Wright, who provided a new introduction to *The West Indies in 1837* by Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, reprinted in 1968, "despite gross insubordination to Sligo, . . . was saved probably by the influence of his patroness, Lady Holland."); to compliment him on several early issues of the *West Indian*: "if a sufficient number of negroes can, and any considerable number of planters will read and attend to them, they cannot fail to do much good;" and, finally, to mention his name to Charles Metcalfe, later Baron, who became Governor of Jamaica in 1839, less than a year before Lord Holland's death.

EDB, in the second of the two letters to Earl Grey noted above, acknowledged not only Lord Holland's significant role in obtaining for him his posting in Jamaica, but also "the advice of the late Right Honorable J. H. Frere," as a result of which "I went to England from Malta in order to proceed to the West Indies" John Hookham Frere in 1833 was a widower, who had settled in Malta with his wife in the latter half of 1820 in an attempt to find a climate that would benefit her health, and he was to stay there until his own death in 1846. As a poet and classical scholar, his "Metrical Version" of some of the plays of Aristophanes, first published on Malta, is still recognized for its high quality. In addition to being an author, as a younger man Frere had a public career as a diplomat. Given his circle of acquaintances—for example, George Canning was an intimate from boyhood, and Lord and Lady Holland were his frequent hosts—and

his adequate means, Frere was also in a position to be a "patron and friend," one whose advice, as in the case of EDB, was immediately to hand.

It is worth asking how did EDB come to know Lord Holland, especially since EDB was absent from England from 1811 to 1815 and then again from 1821 until 1833? Did he know this important aristocrat through an intermediary such as his friend Frere? Or had they got to know each other in the years immediately following the end of the Napoleonic war? I do not believe it to be far-fetched to suggest that the Hollands, famed for their hospitality and whose home was known as a "meeting place of writers," had noted the writings of EDB, published in 1818 and 1819, and had invited him to join their wide circle of visitors, perhaps particularly so after it became public knowledge that EDB had written *Childe Harold in the Shades*; and that the relationship of "patron and friend" was born and nurtured in the years immediately surrounding 1820 in the genial atmosphere of Holland House.

Whatever the reason that linked Lord Holland and EDB, and despite the speed shown by Mr. Stanley in nominating EDB as a stipendiary magistrate, it was still another seven months before arrangements between London and the West Indies were such that the first of the successful applicants could be sent abroad. On 9 April 1834 John Lefevre wrote to EDB: "I am directed by Mr. Secretary Stanley to request that you will embark as soon as you can make it convenient so to do." He was also told that he should apply for an allowance of £75 for the passage. Enclosed with the letter was an introduction to the Governor of Jamaica who, he was informed, would, "upon your arrival, furnish you with your Commission and Instructions." Only on taking up his commission in Jamaica would his pay of £300 a year begin. Because this was a "form" letter sent to several other newly appointed magistrates at the same time, the records in the Colonial Office file do not record the address to which EDB's orders were sent. Given that "the new scheme of apprenticeships" was scheduled to begin on 1 August 1834, it is reasonable to assume that EDB made his plans to be in Jamaica on or before that date. And so it was that EDB at the age of forty four began a new career and a new life for himself, his wife and their children that summer.

EDB spent the rest of his years in the West Indies, apart from a period of leave, 30 April 1846 to 7 September 1847, most of it in England, and at least one briefer visit "home" in the second half of 1852 following his removal from office. Of the little more than seventeen and a half years that he served as an appointee of the Colonial Office, from 1 August 1834 to 10 March 1852, his time was spent first as a stipendiary magistrate on Jamaica, then briefly as provost marshal on Dominica, and finally as president on Montserrat. And in these offices he served a succession of Governors, first of Jamaica, then of Antigua and the Leeward Islands. Several years after his removal from the presidency, probably in 1858, EDB in a "memorial stating his supposed claim to a superannuation allowance" described his period of service somewhat differently: "Stipendiary Special Justice in the West Indies from 4 September 1833 to 24 April 1841," and "President Administering the Government of Montserrat 10 May 1841 - 10 March 1852." There is no question about the correctness of the dating of his presidency. His first commission from the Colonial Office, however, did not begin in London but in Jamaica, a difference of eleven months. Given the extent of the hardships that he endured particularly in his first years as a stipendiary magistrate, the claim of those additional months of service in the material he submitted so many years later in support of consideration for a pension seems not only understandable but also forgivable.

It was to administer the apprenticeship system, that intermediary state between slavery and emancipation, that EDB and 48 other stipendiary magistrates arrived in the West Indies by 1 August 1834. It will not have taken them long, particularly those stationed in Jamaica, to realize how impossible of achievement were their duties and how intolerable the conditions in which they were placed. William Laurence Burn, the most perceptive and learned of modern scholars on the subject of "The Special Magistrates," [see the chapter, pp. 196-266, so titled in his exemplary study *Emancipation and Apprenticeship in the British West Indies*, published by Jonathan Cape, London, in 1937, and reprinted by Johnson Reprint Company, London, in 1970] in his more recent book *The British West Indies* (Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1951, p. 118) puts their plight succinctly: "The special magistrates, on whom the working of the whole system hinged, were originally too few in number, ill-paid, unprotected by any provision for securing judicial immunity. Necessarily, also, they were untrained. On the whole, the Colonial Office was more fortunate with them than it deserved to be. It recruited a few drunkards, a few bullies, a few time-servers; but the majority . . . seem to have performed their arduous and embarrassing duties with sufficient humanity and

common sense, a good many dying from the consequences of the overwork and exposure involved.”

Criticism of the apprenticeship system and of some of those who administered it was a subject of public debate in England within a very few years of the passage of the Abolition Act. Following their visit to the West Indies in 1837, a trip expressly “undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining the actual conditions of the negro population . . . ,” Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey wrote this of the special magistrates, many of whom they criticized by name for their actions (*The West Indies in 1837*. . . . London 1838, pp. 368-369):

We should not throw all the blame, nor even the chief blame, of this disastrous working of the apprenticeship, upon the Special Magistrates. Their administration of the law may be considered a fair transcript of the policy of the Government itself; for in their relation to the Governor, and their immediate responsibility to his authority, they more nearly resemble subordinate military, than civil officers. They have also peculiar difficulties to encounter, to which we have had frequent occasion to advert. The duties imposed on them, by the local Act, it is impossible for human strength to fulfil. They are inadequately remunerated, and are thrown by unavoidable circumstances upon the hospitality of the planters. It must cease, therefore, to surprise us, that the greater number of them are as completely subservient to the colonists, as if they had been selected and paid as their agents, instead of being the independent and responsible officers of the British Government. But of all their difficulties, the greatest is the absence of countenance and protection on the part of the executive. A magistrate was some time since removed by the Governor, ostensibly and avowedly, “for administering the law in the spirit of the Imperial Act.” This decision has been confirmed by the Secretary of State, and by a necessary consequence, it is now understood, by every Special Magistrate, that if he so administers the law, he does it at the peril of his office. There are yet some holding the Special Commission, who at least endeavour to do their duty; men of tried worth and strength of character, who have displayed rare qualities of the heart and intellect, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty. These will long be held in grateful remembrance by the negroes. They are few in number, and we would gladly record their names, but from the fear of omitting a single individual, who may deserve praise for the conscientious discharge of his difficult and responsible duties.

Governor Sir Lionel Smith, in recommending that EDB be among those “gentlemen” retained as Stipendiary Magistrates in the summer of 1838 at the termination of the apprenticeship, noted in his official despatch that “[t]he selection has been governed by my experience of their conduct, and directed to those only whom I could depend upon to exert themselves in all circumstances to do justice to the labourers.” W. L. Burn, whose experience of these officers was through reading their reports, coming “to know the handwriting of each man and his little tricks of expression, to picture the circumstances in which they were written, the heat or the pervading funereal dankness, to form an idea, perhaps not quite imaginary, of the character of some of the writers,” had this to say of EDB: that he was “eager to talk and a good talker, reluctant to listen;” that he “possessed the most critical and constructive mind (though not the greatest judicial gifts) among the Special

Magistracy;" that "he had a talent for graphic description which most of his colleagues lacked;" and, as a final summary and accolade, that "[a]mong the men who administered the apprentice system in the colonies there were several of unusual judgment and penetration. E. D. Baynes was one but not the only one." In the extent of the hardships that he suffered, however, he stood alone.

The following letter, from the original in the Public Records Office and faithful to EDB's spelling and punctuation, probably less so to his capitalization, is as moving a testimonial as exists to the trials, public and private, of the Stipendiary Magistrate.

Spanish Town 10 Jan'y 1838

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Circular dated 13th October 1837 which I did not receive until some time after it had reached most of the Special Justices. Limiting myself entirely to my own case, and without reference to that of any other Stipendiary Magistrate, I beg permission to observe, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, and of his Lordship the Secretary for the Colonies, that I feel it an imperative duty owing to myself, and to my family, that, to that part of it, who by God's mercy have yet escaped death, though they are in common with myself, suffering, and likely to suffer through life, from the effects of this climate, to take this occasion of alluding to my own case distinctly, and separately from that of any other Special Magistrate, with reference to the circular in question. In accepting the appointment of Stipendiary Special Justice, though I was certainly aware that the duration of the appointment might be limited to six years, I, as certainly, took it under the impression that at the expiration of these six years, the difficult and dangerous duties which were even then anticipated, would be rewarded by the justice, or the generosity of the British Government. Still, prepared as I was, for duties of a trying and harrassing nature, I solemnly declare that I never foresaw, or calculated on a tenth part of the danger, the difficulty, the distressing results, that I have experienced and encountered in the performance of those duties. I was unprepared to find the price of almost every necessary of life, thrice that of the same article in the mother country. I was unprepared on my setting foot on this island, to meet an outlay of £400, without which, I found that I could not so much as enter on the commencement of my duties, and which I was under the distressing obligation of making by anticipating my salary and other funds, and by involving myself exclusively for the public service, in pecuniary difficulties, under which I still labour. I was unprepared either to purchase, or to keep five horses, which I was for a length of time constrained to do, in order to perform efficiently the duties of my office. I was unprepared to pay a rent of £120 per annum, which I am paying at this instance, and I was totally unprepared for the entire absorption of my salary in the three articles of horses, rent and servants. I was even still less prepared to incur the extraordinary and appalling charge of £500 for medical attendance, in little more than 3½ years, and for the cruel deprivation, by death, of half my family for which nothing can, ever, either console, or remunerate me.

I trust that I shall be pardoned for remarking that the duties entailed on the Special Magistrates have been without parallel, the most dangerous, the most difficult and at the same time the most thankless, that have ever fallen to the lot of any magistracy whether paid, or unpaid, to perform. Let thirty deaths in three years and the number of orphans who now in England and elsewhere, wander about in a state of destitution, deprived of their parent and protector, who but for his acceptance of this office would have been living at this moment, to support and educate them, attest this. Let the almost equal number of resignations and dismissals in the same period, testify

the difficulty and delicacy of the duties. That the office is a most unthankful one can be proved by the collected testimony of every special magistrate who has dared manfully and conscientiously to perform his duty in this country. Persecution, prosecutions, intemperate revilings, disgusting abuse have been the portion of every one of such. Nor has this inveterate animosity towards the Special Magistrates been confined to one side only; parties and persons the most opposed in principle and character have acted together for the sole purpose of oppressing and maligning the special justices. One party boldly asserts that nine tenths of them <of them> are paid servants of the anti slavery party at home, and as such are capable of committing, and actually, do perpetrate every act of injustice and wrong for the purpose of ruining the planter. The other party as roundly assert, that they are, in the same proportion, servile dependents and purchased instruments of the planters, who for a dinner or a bottle of wine hesitate not at the commission of any act of atrocity, however revolting, at the expense of the unhappy apprentices. Assailed with so much rancour on both sides, the Special Magistrate confiding in his innocence has only God, Government and the justice of his cause, to look to for consolation and protection. He has however the satisfaction of knowing that the public will hold the accusations which cannot possibly be true on both sides to be probably not so, on either.

I shall take the liberty also of observing that the position of the gentlemen appointed in the first instance in England, by the Colonial Office, of whom I am one of the very few survivors, is essentially different from that of those more recently nominated, especially in the colonies. The latter cannot plead with justice, as can the former, that they were ignorant of the nature of the duties they would have to perform or of their temporary duration. The latter moreover, have not had the same pecuniary difficulties to contend with, nor have they been so harrassed by the insufficiency of their salary; having been previously settled in this island, they were aware of the mode of living and of the expenses of the country and were already provided with all the means which the English magistrate found himself, at the outset, so unexpectedly called on to supply at his own expense.

To revert to myself, and to the state of my family, which has suffered more in this country than I can find words to describe, my four remaining children for death has deprived me of four since my arrival in this country are all afflicted with almost constant fever, sickness has, in fact, been constantly under my roof. My own constitution also is fast giving way to the severe labour attending on the punctual performance of my duties, and to the anxiety caused by the harrassing prosecutions to which I have been subjected. At the expiration of 3½ years I have not yet been reimbursed from my salary the mere expenses incidental to, and unavoidable in the course of the service required of me, in my capacity of special justice. The removal of my family from Malta to England, and from England to Jamaica, with concomitant expenses, and losses, cost me £600 sterling. On my arrival in this country, I found, to my astonishment, that I had several horses, saddling, a chaise and uniforms to provide; not a word respecting which, was even hinted to me, when I called at the Colonial Office, previously to my embarkation for this country. Medical attendance, alone, as I have before observed, has cost me £500: To these must be added all the heavy expenses that I have had to sustain, in consequence of the several iniquitous prosecutions which have been brought against me. I can safely declare, that, instead of having derived the slightest pecuniary advantage from my appointment, I am considerably out of pocket by it.

Happily, for me, however, my very enemies have never during the whole series of their prosecutions, so much as taxed me with perversion of justice. I have the satisfaction of knowing that my conduct has merited the approbation of both this Governor, under whom I have had the honour of serving, as well as of her Majesty's Government; vide Despatch . No. 139, of the 14th September 1837, from the Colonial Office. I have endeavoured, to the best of my understanding, to make the law my sole guide, I have not on the one hand, suffered the apprentice to be oppressed, nor on the other, permitted the reins of discipline to be relaxed. I have searchingly inquired into, and promptly exposed every abuse that has come to my knowledge. For thus fearlessly daring to do my duty, I have been assailed, vilified, persecuted and even clandestinely shot at. Criminal indictments preferred against me in three successive courts, and an action for damages pertinaciously continued for the same length of time, attest at once, the rancour and the perseverance of my enemies. I am still labouring under serious embarrassments, occasioned by the heavy expenses, to which I was so unjustly subjected. I have now, for nearly four years, carried on the arduous and harrassing duties of my office, without asking, or obtaining leave, for a

single day. I am moreover one of the oldest magistrates in the Colonies, the date of my appointment by Mr Stanley, being the 4th September 1833; nineteen magistrates out of twenty, I believe, of the same standing, having been either swept off by death, or having resigned the situation from inability to carry on its harrassing and distressing duties.

For drawing up the foregoing faithful statement of my own case, I entreat his Lordship the Secretary of the Colonies, not to imagine for a single moment, that I am acting as a general pleader for the Special Justices, nothing is more remote from my intention. I am advocating my own case, not that of others. Some of the facts that I have instanced, hold good, it is true, with many of our body, but I allude to them, solely as regards my own claims, leaving it to others to set their's forth in any shape they may deem most advisable.

Under all the above circumstances, I therefore trust that Her Majesty's Government will take my case and services into its peculiar consideration, and that at the expiration of the apprenticeship, it will appoint me to some other situation, either at home, or abroad, that will afford me the means of providing a livelihood for my large family, so, that having lost one half of them by disease I may not, having expended my own funds in the public service, see the remaining half perish by starvation, which I have too much reason to apprehend, will otherwise be the case in this country.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your most obedient Humble Servant
Ed: Dacres Baynes

Equally moving, and never more so than after reading EDB's letter, is W. L. Burn's dedication of his book to the memory of these colonial officers whose efforts he so carefully assessed and largely admired. Both the tone and the language—Latin—EDB would have applauded. It is reproduced below in translation.

The Stipendiary Magistrates
Who,
Given responsibility in the West Indies
For the charge of freeing the slaves,
To the envy of foes and the rashness of friends
Responded with equal firmness,
Made light of poverty, toil and violence,
And faced death itself with a calm mind,
Men who in no way earned oblivion.
To their Memory
The author has intended
This book to be Sacred.

Had EDB assembled his litany of woes at the end, rather than the beginning, of 1838, he would have surely included yet another unexpected financial burden, for in January he undertook the “editing and management of the *West Indian* at the express request of Sir Lionel Smith and the full sanction of Lord Glenelg,” as EDB explained to Earl Grey in October 1851. Moreover, as he further described the circumstances of his editorship to the Duke of Newcastle in March 1853, the position “was not undertaken without a pledge from Sir Lionel Smith, that I should be reimbursed for any loss I might incur.”

The “chief objects” of the *West Indian* were “to be the diffusion of Religious instruction and useful knowledge among the negroes, and the vindication of Her Majesty’s Government from unjust imputations,” to quote Lord Glenelg, who also said in a letter to Sir Lionel Smith dated 9 February 1838 that “Mr. Baynes’ merits and zeal had already attracted my notice in the perusal of his official reports, and I cannot doubt that much good would result from the adoption of the proposal. . . by an Editor of such a character and such principles.” There is no question that the Government supported EDB’s scheme for a cheap paper that would further the official aims of emancipation. His “business plan,” however, called for a large circulation, an impossibility to achieve once the cost per copy rose from 3d. to 4½d. through the deliberate addition of a postage charge [details taken from W. L. Burn, *Emancipation . . .*, pp. 273-74, n. 2], and before the end of the year publication of the *West Indian* had ceased. Despite Sir Lionel’s pledge, EDB claimed that he had personally lost £300 in this venture. Government support would appear to have been more private than public, and EDB’s claim was still being raised in his letters to subsequent Colonial Secretaries as much as fifteen years later.

Another event that took place towards the end of 1838, on November 13, was the alleged abduction and rape of EDB’s thirteen year old daughter Francesca by Lieut. William Griffiths of the 27th Regiment. I owe my knowledge of the trial of this officer that took place in February 1839, to Robert Dacres Baynes who came across the details of this nasty occurrence in *The Jamaica Dispatch and Kingston Chronicle*, a weekly publication that according to Robert Baynes was “hostile to Stipendiary Magistrates in general, and EDB in particular” and in this instance “gave full and gleeful coverage.” In giving his instruction to the jury, quoting from *The Dispatch* of February 26, “the Chief Justice in summing up the evidence, told them that unless they were satisfied that Mr. Griffiths did violently and without consent perpetrate the offences for which he now stood charged, they must acquit

him. His Honor also observed that he did not see any reason for supposing that the respectable gentlemen who gave evidence would perjure themselves merely to screen a brother officer from justice." The jury took only a short time to return a verdict of not guilty. As Mr. Robert Baynes rightly concludes, "despite the valiant efforts of the Attorney General, the combination of judge and jury, representing the plantocracy, served to humiliate one of the hated Stipendiary Magistrates and one who had not scrupled to speak his mind." This battle with Griffiths in support of his daughter's honour, which also involved the firing of several shots, EDB lost and perhaps because of this there is no mention of it in letters to the Colonial Office.

* * *

Between 1840 and 1841, when Lord John Russell was Secretary for War and the Colonies, the office he was named to in September 1839, EDB was twice given a new appointment, twice moved, and twice promoted. On both occasions, to judge from EDB's later comments, not only did these new assignments represent official satisfaction at his performance as a Stipendiary Magistrate and some measure of recognition of his various losses, but also an increase in pay. EDB first went, after considerable delay in accepting the post offered him, that of the Provost Marshal General, from Jamaica to Dominica where, on 11 May 1841 Major Hort, Administrator of the Government of Dominica, informed his superior, Lieutenant Governor Major John Macphail, "that I have caused the oath to be administered and Mr. Baynes has entered upon the duties of his office" some seven months after Major Macphail had forwarded a copy of the Dispatch containing Her Majesty's Warrant appointing EDB to that office.

Within a month EDB had reason to complain to London about his new situation when it became clear to him that the current "emoluments" for the post were less than half the amount he had been led to expect, less even than his former salary and allowances as a stipendiary magistrate, and on June 10 EDB addressed a lengthy "memorial" on the subject of their inadequacy to the Colonial Secretary, the full text of which is given in Appendix 6. His claim that he was "victim" of "an unfortunate error" is strongly presented and his proposed remedy that he be nominated "to some office equaling, or not very greatly inferior in average value to the amount which I was led to expect when I accepted that of Provost Marshal General of Dominica" has merit. Indeed as early as March 8 1840, Mr. Henry Taylor, senior clerk in the Colonial Office, had communicated his observations to

Lord E. Howard that there had been two mistakes in calculating the emoluments associated with EDB's Marshalship, an error in the Blue Book, and the inclusion of a salary for superintendence of the now abolished treadmill. Furthermore, on that same day, Mr. Taylor ended his remarks with an interesting question; "Is there not a vacancy in the office of President of Montserrat which would be suitable for him?" Taylor's question and concern about EDB's future were formally answered fourteen months later when on May 10 1841 EDB was officially appointed President of Montserrat with a stipend of £500 which, though considerably less than the amount he had expected to receive on Dominica, did represent an annual raise of £50 over what he had earned on Jamaica in the first part of 1841.

The news of his appointment to Montserrat did not reach EDB until early July after he had left Jamaica for Dominica, had been sworn in to his new office and had written to Lord John Russell that detailed lament that constitutes Appendix 6. This time however there was no hesitation, and he began at once to plan the next stage of his career. This response has a very different ring from that which seems to have been EDB's view in hindsight. But would he have thought otherwise in 1841? It is surely doubtful, for at that time not only did he see the presidency as offering a better salary, but he had also been "given to understand that the tenure of the presidencies differed from the conditions established for the regulations of the Lieutenant Governments, and I was led to consider it in the light of a permanency, or of a step to promotion. Under other circumstances I certainly would not have exchanged for it the less responsible and more remunerative office of Stipendiary Magistrate."

These comments were contained in a letter to Sir John Pakington at the Colonial Office written from Montserrat in 1852 not three weeks after he had left with inward bitterness but outward dignity the Presidency, an office that he claimed "was moreover bestowed as a provision for faithful and arduous services and heavy pecuniary loss in the service of Government, and for the sacrifice in the performance of my duties of my own health, and the lives of more than half of my family." [At the time that he accepted the presidency four, that is, half of his family had died; the fifth took place about a decade later.] By the autumn of 1851 EDB had good reason to recognize that the Presidency of Montserrat offered him neither permanency nor promotion, the "other circumstances" that he had counted on. But in the spring of 1841, at the age of fifty-one, he saw his future differently. Although his official appointment to Montserrat was dated 10 May 1841, —the next day, May

11, EDB assumed the office of Provost Marshal of Dominica, — the credentials supporting his new appointment took several weeks to arrive in the West Indies, and it was not until early in July that EDB could plan his move to Montserrat. On July 8 he informed London from Dominica that he would “proceed at once, on receiving the warrant of appointment,” and, a month later, on the evening of Sunday, August 8, he took the steamer to Montserrat. It was a hurried departure and a few days later he made apologies to Major Hort for not “waiting” on him. On August 14 he wrote to Lord John Russell from Montserrat: “I have the honour to report my arrival in this island and my assumption of the duties of my office.” In the language of royal gazettes, EDB had become “His Honor Edward Dacres Baynes, President administering the Government, Chancellor, Vice Admiral and Ordinary of the same, &c., &c., &c.,” and was to remain so until 10 March 1852.

* * *

Almost ten and a half years later, in recognition of his “approaching departure” EDB on 21 January 1852 addressed the Legislature of Montserrat. It was a brief speech, three paragraphs in all, the second of which is worth recalling.

I feel the cheering consolation on this occasion of being conscious that during the lengthened course of my administration, a space of nearly eleven years, and a period of unparalleled depression of Commercial and Agricultural interests throughout the West Indies, I have endeavoured, at least to the best of my ability, to alleviate the pressure of the evils so severely and generally felt, as well as to take advantage of the signs of amelioration and returning prosperity that have at intervals displayed themselves; that these symptoms, such as they have been, and are, may not prove to be fallacious, and that your interests may not merely apparently and temporarily, but solidly and permanently improve is the wish nearest to my heart; and in their attainment you may confidently rely that the wisdom and paternal care of Her Majesty’s Government will not fail to co-operate with your earnest and well directed efforts.

“A period of unparalleled depression,” as EDB described the years of his presidency, was an accurate summary of Montserrat’s economy despite the temptation for hyperbole on this special occasion. In giving some definition to the major island problems that faced EDB as its chief executive officer, I can do no better than to rehearse those factors mentioned by Stuart B. Philpott in his monograph *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case* ([London 1973] pp. 19-27): emigration, lack of unalienated land, practice of tenancy-at-will and share-cropping, the great earthquake of 8 February 1843, the British Government’s reduction in duty on foreign slave-grown sugar, failure to utilize new technologies such as the plough and wheelbarrow, severe drought, and an outbreak of 4000 cases of small pox leading to 100 deaths (200 according to H. Fergus). Some of

these problems were quite beyond the control of the president; others EDB opposed, such as the metayer system and the provision of a cottage and land to the labourer, both of which he saw as practices that enhanced neither the negro's freedom nor the productivity of the plantation, but he was ignored by the planters. His efforts at the time of the small pox epidemic, however, were the cause of public thanks. The situation faced by EDB is succinctly described in 1850.

The result of the accumulated visitations were manifested in the stagnation of trade, the falling off from the staple exports, the embarrassment of the public revenue, the ceasing of cultivation on many estates, and super-added to other still more potent influences, they accelerated, though, they did not cause, the ruin and bankruptcy of more than one of the principal proprietors.

The president was not only the island's administrator but also the leader of its society. And in this sphere of activity there were serious problems that impinged on the president's life, as EDB was to learn and describe. (The following quotation is taken from Douglas Hall, *Five of the Leewards 1834-1870* [Edinburgh 1971] p. 161, and is an excerpt from EDB's "report accompanying the Montserrat Blue Book for 1844.)

As is the case in most little communities, there is I am sorry to have to observe, amongst the inhabitants of a higher grade . . . much bickering and dissention . . . In a society in which almost all individuals are intimately known to each other, indeed generally connected either by blood, or marriage, public opinion, the best cure for such inconveniences, has either no existence or is without the power of making itself heard, and in consequence these unseemly disputes are an evil which it is easier to deplore, than to remedy.

While there may have been those colonial officers who could have won general satisfaction for their performance as president given the circumstances, both economic and social, that prevailed on Montserrat in the decade 1841-1851, EDB was unfortunately not one of them. Moreover, he had significant differences with two of the three Governors-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands to whom he reported: Sir Charles A Fitzroy (1841-1846) and Robert James MacKintosh (1850-1855).

In November 1842 Sir Charles Fitzroy did nothing to hide his displeasure at EDB's actions in response to an event on 10 October 1842 in his report to Lord Stanley filed at the Colonial Office under the short but dramatic title "Riots in Plymouth."

It appears from Mr. Baynes' Despatches, and the Depositions taken before the Magistrates, (from the latter of which, instead of the former, I regret to say the most correct account of the facts connected with this subject may be gathered) that Mr. Baynes, while standing at the window of his residence, was an eye witness of the forcible escape from the Jail of certain prisoners who appear to have been led to this act by an impression that,

being confined for a bailable offence and being provided with bail, there was some unnecessary delay (as in fact appears to have been the case) on the part of the Magistrates in accepting it and releasing them.

Naturally of an extremely impulsive temperament and flattered by the idea suggested to him by two Members of the Council and the Colonial Secretary that to use his own words "his presence was the only contingency likely to overawe and restrain the populace" Mr. Baynes blindly following their advice and without affording himself a moment's time for reflection, armed himself with a brace of pistols— mounted his horse— placed himself at the head of a hastily collected sort of posse comitatus, and without entering into any parley, or making any attempt to induce those parties to submit to the Laws, directed an attack upon a house belonging to a person named Irish, in which the escaped prisoners had taken refuge, and in the excitement of the moment levelled and fired his pistol at a person who appeared at a window armed with a musket.

A species of battle royal then appears to have ensued in which an attack headed by the Colonial Secretary was made upon the before mentioned house with stones and other missiles, the parties within defending themselves with the same materials, in the course of which but subsequently to the firing of the pistol by the President one of the escaped prisoners fired a musket at that gentleman.

It is very evident that the imprudence of the President in taking any part in the affray, gave it a character of much more grave importance than could have otherwise been attached to it; and the fact that on the arrival on the spot of one or two gentlemen of the town who seem to have possessed some real influence over the populace, the rioters quietly surrendered themselves and were forthwith re-conducted to the prison, fully proves that had Mr. Baynes contented himself with employing a Magistrate at the head of a few of the ordinary constables of the place they would have been amply sufficient to quell the riot and preserve the public peace.

But the folly of the proceedings did not, I regret to say, end here. As soon as the disturbance had subsided the President summoned his Council and by their advice and that of the Law Officer of the Crown, directed the proclamation of Martial Law. The discovery however the next day that this proceeding would be not only illegal but ridiculous in a community where there was no military force or militias prevented the proclamation from being actually issued, but not before the preliminary steps had been taken and the advice of the Council made public.

EDB's response, though expectedly long, was an ineffective explanation, especially as he claimed that there was "nothing else to do" and he blamed his "newness in office." Fitzroy was not the Governor to be moved by such excuses. In his closing advice to Lord Stanley, however, he did suggest that the Secretary not contribute further to EDB's misery by adding his formal censure, and he did allow that the President might learn from his experience.

I have thought it my duty to comment freely and unreservedly upon Mr. Baynes' proceedings, but I cannot close this despatch without stating how extremely painful it has been to me to report unfavourably upon the conduct of a Public Officer holding the responsible situation which Mr. Baynes does under this Government.

Entertaining the conviction that he does not possess that sound discretion and judgement which are indispensable qualifications for the office which he holds I cannot refrain from adding that he is now fully aware of the mistakes he has committed, and that he feels deeply the humiliating and uncomfortable position in which the event of the trial has placed him in the eyes of the community over which he presides. I should therefore regret much were he to be subjected to any further censure from your Lordship than will be implied by an approval of the steps I have taken and the opinion I have expressed as I cannot help hoping that the severe lesson he has received will induce him to exercise more self restraint in future.

Lord Stanley made clear his concern at EDB's behaviour: Fitzroy completed his humiliation by appointing Lieutenant Governor C. J. Cunningham to "proceed to Montserrat and assume temporary administration of the Government," which he did on 7 November 1842 and relinquished by the end of the year. As for EDB, while he may have gained something from the experience, his battle with Sir Charles Fitzroy was not over.

On Wednesday, 8 February 1843, EDB faced a new challenge, this time not of his own making, an earthquake that brought "considerable damage" to Montserrat, the sad results ably summarized by the Governor.

The Hand which has levelled the buildings of the wealthy has not spared the cottages of the poor. Three-fourths of the sugar works are either totally destroyed or greatly damaged. Few in Town have been actually overthrown but almost all are injured—the stone fabrics to so great a degree that it is dangerous to leave them standing. All the churches are unfit for use. The Church [St. Anthony's at Plymouth, and it is from a pamphlet titled *St. Anthony's Church, Montserrat, West Indies* by F. E. Peters and published by the Advocate Co., Ltd. of Bridgetown, Barbados in 1931, p. 5, that I have quoted EDB's words] and Chapel [St. Mary's School Chapel] of the Town escaped with less injury, yet they are unsafe and dangerous to the congregations. The number of deaths known is 6, but many are injured. The roads in some places are wholly rent away, in others they are buried beneath enormous avalanches of earth. The precipitation of cliffs, and the descent of masses of earth from superior elevations have been fatal to the cottages and provision grounds of the peasants. Of 36 sugar plantations, three only remain without serious injury, Webb's, Broderick's, and Dagenham. On one all works and buildings are entirely destroyed, on another the windmill and dwelling house only have escaped, the remaining buildings have been levelled with the ground. The damage is estimated at 23,000 pounds, made up as follows: Houses in Town 6,800 pounds, Estates and Buildings 13,000 pounds, Public Buildings 2,700 pounds, Roads 500 pounds.

However well the Governor may have coped with this crisis, one that was felt throughout the Leeward Islands, Sir Charles Fitzroy did not forget "the events of the latter part of 1842," and on 11 April 1844, from Government House, Antigua, he addressed a letter marked private to EDB on Montserrat. This time there was no central issue on which the Governor focused his criticism, but on the whole character of the President's administration, nor was it confined to public matters but included his handling of personal pecuniary affairs.

Sir,

The frequent instances on which it has lately been incumbent upon me to record my disapproval of your Honor's proceedings and the references which are continually made to me for my decision on points arising within your jurisdiction and of a character determinable by yourself have led me to the conclusion that I ought no longer to delay addressing you on the subject of your position as administrator of the local Government of Mt Serrat.

I must first observe to your Honor that in order successfully to discharge the duties devolving upon an Officer in your situation it is indispensable that there should be a combination of independence and firmness with amenity and forbearance and not alone the possession of personal integrity but the unquestionable freedom from anything like the taint of party bias.

It has often been unavoidable for me to notice and I have done so with regret that the style and tone of your Honor's communications not only with the Legislative bodies but with private individuals have betrayed an utter absence of that tact and temper which are the usual concomitants of a well regulated judgement, and have therefore warranted the natural inference that you were rather swayed by inconsiderate impulse, and the hasty promptings of a mind not at all times under the guidance of a calm reflection. It is to this cause, and to another, to which I shall have presently to advert that I must attribute the entire want of influence on your Honor's part in the Community over which you preside, and which is so notorious and so well established that I cannot if I would be unaware of it.

The other point, to which I have alluded, is, that of your Honor's being deeply involved in Montserrat in pecuniary affairs, and unable to discharge the claims upon you when they are preferred, complaints have been laid before me on this score to which however I have refused to listen because they were not couched in an official shape, but while it is impossible to negative the presumption that the independence of an Officer situated as your Honor is, must be compromised, it is equally impossible to say at what moment, a Public Statement to the same effect may be made, and render his tenure of office of the most precarious nature.

Indeed when your Honor reflects on the events of the latter part of 1842, and on the terms in which Lord Stanley closed the correspondence relative to your conduct on that occasion, you cannot but be alive to the peculiar delicacy of your position and to the importance of avoiding anything which could by any possibility strengthen the unfavorable impression then made upon his Lordship's mind. Yet I greatly fear that the views which I have been compelled to take of your recent proceedings, when it is brought to his Lordship's notice will have such an effect, and I feel assured that if any further reference becomes necessary, or the at present private affairs to which I have adverted should assume an official character, the result would be at the same time most painful to your feelings and most prejudicial to your present standing and future prospects.

I address your Honor therefore in terms so plain that I trust they cannot be misunderstood, but nevertheless in the language of friendly warning, because I have no wish but that you should merit the approbation and thereby secure the favour of Her Majesty's Government, the value of which to an Officer in the Public Service it requires no laboured argument to establish or explain.

I have &c
(signed) Charles A. Fitz Roy

Governor in Chief

Governor Fitzroy sent a copy of his "friendly warning" to the Colonial Office, and it was this particular letter that for the next seven years stood in EDB's way whenever he applied for promotion. A note by one of the Secretary's staff on the back of EDB's letter of 28 February 1845 to Lord Stanley in which he asked to be considered for the Lieutenant Governorship of Tobago reminded the Minister of the existence of some "not very favourable" reports sent in by Sir Charles Fitzroy; and

on another occasion the question was raised "Is there not a special report from Sir Charles Fitzroy respecting this Gentleman's claims to promotion?" In the summer of 1851 EDB again applied for the Government of Tobago. By this time it was enough for the member of the Secretary's staff to write that "Mr. Baynes never fails to apply for every vacant Lt. Govt. in the W. I. as it occurs—and has done so for years back." The answer was always one of regret.

Despite the clearly expressed disapproval by his superior of his performance as President of Montserrat, EDB never seemed to think that such a judgement might stand in the way of his advancement. He even asked Sir Charles Fitzroy on 3 November 1845 for a letter of support for his application for the Lieutenant Government of Grenada: "I also take the opportunity of begging your Excellency would kindly favor me with an expression of your Excellency's satisfaction with my conduct in this Government, a testimonial which will at once afford me the highest gratification, and in all probability be of the greatest future service to me." Fitzroy's response, however much deserved, was presumably not what EDB expected.

I shall of course transmit that dispatch to Lord Stanley, but with respect to your request that I would in doing so express my satisfaction with your conduct in the administration of the Government of Montserrat, I can only regret that such a request should have been made, as the official correspondence on record in the Colonial Office would clearly establish my inconsistency, were I to accede to it.

I can have no hesitation however, in bearing testimony to your zeal in the discharge of your duties, while I only sincerely wish it had been always accompanied by a proportionate degree of discretion.

Four months later, March 1846, EDB was again writing to the Colonial Office, this time to William Ewart Gladstone, and the subject was promotion.

I have been twelve years in this climate in which I have encountered many difficulties, and undergone many hardships. The office of President is in every respect similar to that of Lieutenant Governor, the duties are quite as onerous, and the responsibility equal, and I may add so is in great measure the expenditure also: friendly intercourse must be kept up to a certain extent with influential inhabitants, whilst the periodical visits of the Governor and his suite, with those of other officials of rank, entail expenses which are quite disproportionate to the income.

I have also a large and young family whom I am unable to send home for education, a real misfortune to them. I earnestly hope that these considerations will have weight in inducing your favourable consideration of my request and again apologize for the liberty I take and the trouble I occasion.

In that same month, EDB was visited by one of those "officials of rank." John Davy, Inspector General of Army Hospitals, was on Montserrat for three days, part of his extensive tour of duty in the West Indies, and in his published report based on

his experience, *The West Indies before and since Slave Emancipation* (London, Dublin and Barbados 1854, reprinted London 1971), Davy has left an interesting, if somewhat enigmatic, picture of the President of Montserrat.

In reflecting on the subject, and in reading the speeches of the president administering the government, and the addresses of the council, and the house of assembly in reply, and his honor's replies to each of them, in set form, language, and length—sometimes exceeding in length,—very like what we have been accustomed to hear delivered in the imperial parliament, it is difficult not to refrain from a smile, or to avoid the idea that the proceedings are a burlesque. And, the same remark applies to the law courts, with their vice-chancellor, attorney, and solicitor general, queen's council, &c. The late president [i.e. EDB] by whom so many elaborate speeches were made at the opening of the annual session, during his long rule of eleven years, seems to have been fully convinced of the nullity of the existing forms, though from his seriousness, hardly of the absurdity of them, and that however fitted the inhabitants might at one time have been for self-government, that time is past.

At the end of March, EDB wrote again to William Gladstone, but this time the subject was “leave of absence for the space . . . of twelve months.” He wanted “to proceed to England for the purpose of arranging private affairs of the utmost importance, and also for the restoration of my general health which twelve years of continued residence and incessant labour in the West Indies, have not failed greatly to impair as well as that of my family.” In making this request he openly stated his concern about being overlooked for promotion while on leave, and declared that he would forego leave rather “than suffer detriment on a point of so much moment to me.” A note on the back of EDB's letter records that “Mr. Gladstone sanctioned Mr. Baynes' leave on 30 April 1846,” but apparently for the space of nine months only. On August 1 EDB, together with some of his family, “left this Island on this day on his way to England on the Brig ‘Ocean’ commanded by Mr. James Norie,” to quote from the official notice of the President's departure. Two days later, his nemesis, Sir Charles Fitzroy, was appointed Governor of New South Wales in Australia.

EDB's first communication to the Colonial Office on reaching London was sent from No. 4 Lower Grosvenor Place on 30 September 1846, a message of congratulations to be forwarded to Her Majesty and The Prince Consort from the loyal citizens of Montserrat on the birth of their daughter HRH Helena Augusta Victoria a little over four months before. Two weeks later his business with the Ministry was of a more critical nature, one that touched on his judgement. Before leaving for England EDB had informed the Colonial Office that, following the death of the Reverend Mr. Collins in 1846 and the immediate demise of the Friendly Society that this Anglican clergyman had established on Montserrat, an examination of the Society's books had revealed a shortfall of £300 in the accounts of the

members. The response from London to this information was brisk, investigate, an order not undertaken by EDB but by his temporary replacement, Mr. Shiell, who reported quite a different state of affairs: the amount unaccounted for was less than £5. EDB, being now in London, was called on to explain the discrepancy between these figures. The letter he wrote to Benjamin Hawes on October 14 was his answer: he had based his report not on the word of the Society's Treasurer, who refused to show him the books, but on that of one of its Committee members. On the back of EDB's letter is the pragmatic reaction and recommendation of one of Earl Grey's associates.

It would seem hopeless to get to the bottom of the real facts of this case in this country; or to do any thing respecting them to any good purpose, except by transmitting to the Govt. Chief a copy of this explanation (imperfect as it is) and directing [?] him to do what can be done for the relief of the persons whose earnings have been lost or brought into jeopardy by the insolvency of this friendly Society.

EDB's reputation as a capable administrator cannot have been enhanced by this incident so ineptly managed.

On October 30, from Walton on Thames, EDB wrote to his brother Lambert (=RLB) and explained his new location.

I have taken a very pretty place here, with extensive garden and grounds, hot house, conservatory with the use of a pony phaeton. . . For all of this I have to pay £50 up to the 5th of May next.

In this same letter, the possession of Ronald Baynes, he spoke of the great concern he had for the health of his brother Tom. As for his own condition, He reported to RLB that he "never enjoyed . . . health better than in the West Indies." This rather breezy assessment was quite different from the picture he gave when he wrote to William Gladstone requesting leave and gave as one of the major reasons "the restoration of my general health." What he told his brother has a greater ring of truth.

At the end of the year EDB was again staying at No. 7 Craven Street Strand, his address for January 1847, and for June prior to returning to Montserrat. In late January he was back at Walton on Thames, and from there on 24 January wrote to his brother, RLB, asking him to "induce" his father-in-law, Lord Denman, to speak on his behalf "at the Colonial Office," for he was "certain" that with the support of the Lord Chief Justice he "would not leave England without a better appointment" (this letter is in the possession of Robert Dacres Baynes). A month later, on 24

February 1847, EDB applied for the post of Lieutenant Governor of St. Christopher's. On the back of the letter Earl Grey was warned to "see the strong protest of the Governor-in-Chief, which I forwarded to you yesterday against the appt. of the writer." EDB had already experienced the opposition of Sir Charles Fitzroy and its effect on his career; ahead he was to meet similar treatment from Governor MacKintosh, whose enmity cost him his position. Between these two was James Macaulay Higginson, appointed Governor-in-Chief in the summer of 1846. On the face of it, his relationship with EDB was calm, even supportive. Yet he too, like his predecessor and successor, was opposed to EDB's promotion. Whatever support, if any, Lord Denman may have given, it was powerless against such opposition.

Less than two weeks later, EDB, now returned to London and staying at No. 9 Stafford Place Pimlico, his address until the end of May, wrote to Earl Grey on March 8 requesting an extension of his leave for a period of six months, citing as reasons that he had "not accomplished either of the two ends of my visit— return of good health to me or my family" and "certain private affairs of great importance to" him. One of the latter may well have been the completion and publication of his poem, "in four books," *Annals of England*, the preface to which bears the date 15 March 1847. The comment on the letter's back showed no sympathy: there was no medical certificate; the reasons were unacceptable; and how did this request square with his one of a fortnight earlier for a Lieutenant Governorship? Earl Grey replied four days later that he would need to have a medical certificate, more necessary because of EDB's application for St. Christopher's. On March 16 EDB sent a letter enclosing a certificate signed by Mr. Charles Mott, and claimed that, if he were offered the promotion sought, he would be "glad to have sacrificed private affairs." On the back of this letter Mr. James Stephen, Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (1835-1847) noted that "the whole thing is inconsistent," however a refusal "is an invidious and painful office." A week following, EDB was informed that, though the reasons and certificate were "not sufficient," Earl Grey had granted him an extension of his leave by three additional months. On 27 March 1847 EDB wrote to Benjamin Hawes expressing his thanks.

EDB's contacts with the Colonial Office during the final months of his leave were minimal: on 27 May 1847 he wrote to Earl Grey regarding the appointment of those with power of attorney to receive his salary; and on June 14 that "I am about to embark in order to resume my duties in the Island of Montserrat." That

resumption took place on August 8 according to Governor Higginson, who sailed over to Montserrat "a few days afterwards" and apparently stayed, both Governor and President sharing the same residence, until September 18 when the Governor wrote to Earl Grey "I this day delivered over charge of the administration of the local affairs of Montserrat to Mr. President Baynes, and . . . I have returned to" Antigua. Two weeks later, EDB wrote to Earl Grey soliciting the "Government of Dominica if it becomes vacant . . . I am emboldened to make the application from Your Lordship's having had the kindness to say that you would place my name on the list for promotion." Once again, the note on the letter's back was strictly to the point: "there is no vacancy and no recommendation for promotion from the Governor-in-Chief whom he has served." Notwithstanding what the Minister may have said to EDB, the former's position was without ambiguity in his written comment: "I can make no promise whatever the performance of which would be contingent on that event taking place." It never did.

1848, however revolutionary a time in Europe, seems to have been comparatively quiet on Montserrat. The New Year began with the Governor-in-Chief, James Higginson, writing to EDB that "it is satisfactory to observe amid the general gloom, that uninterrupted harmony and mutual confidence continue to prevail between the other Branches of the Legislature and Yourself," and ended with EDB filing yet another solicitation for a Government, this time of the Bahamas Islands, noting that this post would provide a "better climate for health and family." Neither statement marks the author as firmly in touch with reality, and amid such benign circumstances it is perhaps easy to understand the Governor's advice to Earl Grey on October 3 that Mrs. Donaldson's complaint—EDB owed her money and his bill of exchange was unpaid—was "not to be pursued" because the drawing of the bill involved "no purposes of deception." Less than a year later the Colonial Secretary made very clear his attitude to such pecuniary carelessness.

On 21 June 1849 Mr. James Derbyshire of Kingston, Jamaica, wrote to Earl Grey regarding EDB's failure to repay in full a debt to him incurred in 1836, still half unpaid more than a dozen years later. The comment of Mr. Herman Merivale, Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (1847-1859), on the letter's back puts EDB's treatment of his personal debts in a wider context: "But so many complaints of the same kind have been communicated to this office respecting this gentleman that the time would almost seem to have arrived for taking more serious notice of them." Earl Grey had in fact done so in mid May when he took the

occasion "to admonish Mr. Baynes that if unable to meet the pecuniary demands on him, altho' not chargeable with other irregularity, it would be impossible to maintain him in a position in which he is protected from ordinary legal proceedings." With respect to Mr. Derbyshire's complaint, the Secretary crisply ordered EDB, "should the demand be indisputed, to make immediate arrangements for the satisfaction of his creditors at Jamaica."

One of those "many complaints" involved Robert Dyet, who had conveyed EDB and his family in the barque commanded by him to Montserrat on EDB's return from leave in 1847. Being "very short of ready money" EDB persuaded Captain Dyet to accept a bill for £93=3=10 drawn on his London agent Mr. Whittaker. Dyet "remitted" the bill to Thomas Teighe, his brother-in-law who lived in London, who presented it for payment but was refused acceptance, an event the notification of which he "forwarded" to EDB, who in April 1849 replaced the first bill with a set of bills of exchange dated 1 October, "being in anticipation of his quarterly salary due 31 September." EDB obviously recognized that there might be official displeasure at his handling of his debt to Dyet, and so he wrote to Earl Grey on 29 June 1849 that the original bill "should never have left Capt. Dyet's desk" as it was a "private transaction," and "that I shall take care not to give, under any circumstances, bills of such a nature in future."

Had the matter ended there, Earl Grey might never have heard more about it, but it did not. When the second set of bills was presented for payment in October, there was no money to honour them as EDB had "apparently already signed over his quarterly salary ended September 30 to Mr. James Meade." According to Mr. Teighe no letter of explanation was sent by EDB on either the October or November packet, and it was at this point that he declared EDB's behaviour as exhibiting "repeated breaches of honesty and good faith." The facts of the case as outlined by Thomas Teighe were sent by him to the Lordships of Her Majesty's Treasury on 17 December 1849, followed up by a letter ten days later to Earl Grey, in which he wrote of EDB's "duplicity, and I might add dishonesty."

On 10 January 1850, Earl Grey sent his instructions to Governor Higginson regarding EDB's non-payment of his debt to Captain Dyet, ending with these words:

If he has any explanation to offer which he believes will be satisfactory you will transmit it to me for my consideration with any remarks which may occur to you as being calculated to assist me in coming to a decision

upon this subject— If he is conscious that he has no such explanation to offer he will probably best consult his own interest by resigning his appointment instead of waiting to be formally removed.

Two months later, EDB submitted his “explanation” direct to Earl Grey. Captain Dyet’s claims on him had been met in the month just past, and “I appeal to Your Lordship if in the whole transaction there is a shadow of a design, as Mr. Teighe scandalously assumes to wrong Captain Dyet who has been honestly paid, . . . and that not under the influence of fear of Your Lordship’s censure for, acting with perfect integrity of purpose, I could never have apprehended that there was any ground of complaint, but in pursuance with previous arrangements made for that purpose by Captain Dyet and myself . . .” As for the actions of Mr. Teighe, they are described as “the rash, unauthorized and malicious attack of a person knowing nothing of, and not in the remotest manner concerned in the matter . . . and the language he uses, are, I am instructed, libellous in the highest degree . . .” In offering Earl Grey an understanding of what had transpired between Dyet and himself, EDB apparently thought it enough to assure the Secretary that Dyet had now been paid in accordance with agreed-to arrangements, that there were absolutely no grounds for complaint, and that Mr. Teighe was an uninformed and interfering third party acting with malicious intent. On the other hand, he failed to comment on the long delay or the several problems associated with the bills of exchange, or to recognize that the person described as “not in the remotest manner concerned in the matter” was in fact Dyet’s brother-in-law. EDB’s defence was manifestly based on the view that “all’s well that ends well.” His claim that he acted “with perfect integrity of purpose” must have seemed at best extravagant, at worst false, to one forced to wait years for repayment of a loan. With respect to Dyet, Earl Grey accepted EDB’s explanation, but in the process EDB had been warned that an unsatisfactory explanation could lead to a formal removal from office.

EDB’s problems in 1849 were not restricted to those resulting from his personal indebtedness. He also had to face staffing issues. John Osborn, Montserrat’s Stipendiary Magistrate, appointed in 1841, was a source of controversy and the subject of grievances against his decisions. Howard Fergus in his recent book *Montserrat History of a Caribbean Colony* describes Osborn as an exception to the general attitudes of colonial agents and their sense of justice, “a salaried man, who was also a barrister and attorney at law and who was reportedly retained by almost all proprietors on the island. The poor labourers were the victims of his corruption and this cruel conflict of interest” (p. 114). Despite that such behaviour would seem the antithesis of that endorsed by EDB, John Osborn a year

later was to become his son-in-law, and it was alleged that the President put pressure on William Shiell to sign an “unfounded certificate” on his behalf.

Mr. Loring, the island’s Colonial Secretary, posed a problem of a different kind: as EDB informed Governor Higginson on 22 August 1849, he was suffering from a “mental infirmity, so as to be unfitted for the transaction of business, either private or public.” For a solution EDB granted Loring leave and then turned to his son and private secretary: “I have authorized Mr. Edwin Donald Baynes to discharge the temporary duties of the office held by Mr. Loring. The Governor wrote to Earl Grey that “I am aware of no objection to this arrangement,” and he received the answer from London that “I have to signify to you my sanction of these arrangements.” The Secretary did however want to know whether EDB “considers it possible that Mr. Loring will be able to resume the duties of his office on the expiration of his leave of absence.” The answer was no, and a year later, in late August, the new Governor-in-Chief, Robert James MacKintosh, in one of his first communications to EDB informed him that his son had been appointed Colonial Secretary for Montserrat in his own right and that he owed his position to the strong recommendation of the island’s Chief Justice.

1849 had yet one more challenge to present EDB, an outbreak of smallpox, which he reported to Earl Grey in a dispatch dated 20 November 1849, with these details: the disease was of an unusually mild type and spreading rapidly, though as yet there were no fatalities; he had applied in vain for supplies of vaccine from neighbouring islands; and the legislative assembly was “hopelessly apathetic” in matters of public health. The Colonial Secretary replied at the year’s end that he would do his best to provide help. What the President did in this crisis was remembered to his credit by the island’s Council when Mr. Richard S. Goodall addressed the President early in 1852 two months prior to his leaving office: “. . . the Board of Council most gratefully acknowledges the circumstance of your having condescended to accept the Chairmanship of the Board of Health, during the prevalence of the Small Pox, together with the anxiety you so strongly manifested to relieve the distress consequent on that melancholy occasion, as well as to arrest the progress of the pestilence.” Whatever the nature and magnitude of his faults, EDB was a man of recognized ability and compassion, who for over seventeen years worked without fear for the betterment of those recently emancipated.

In some ways 1850 should have been a year of pleasant memory for EDB and his family with the confirmation of his son as Colonial Secretary on Montserrat and the marriage of one of his daughters to the Stipendiary Magistrate. But even these normally happy occasions brought problems to the President as a letter to Earl Grey indicates. On December 31 EDB applied for the vacant Government of Tobago.

A life spent in the service of the Crown, sixteen years employment and great domestic affliction in the West Indies, especial services rendered to the Government, attended with pecuniary sacrifice and loss, high testimonies in existence at the Colonial Office in my favour from successive Governors and Secretaries of State under whom I have served and Your Lordship's kind promise to note my name for a Lieutenant Government all encourage me to hope that my present application will not be unsuccessful.

I venture to take the liberty of remarking that by a removal to Tobago, the unworthy and unjust imputations of favouritism so unhandsomely and groundlessly raised against me, may be put an end to with honour to myself and without further injury to the gentlemen so unfortunate as to be allied with me.

The last sentence may well hold an oblique reference to a situation that was to drive EDB from his office, the completion in November 1850 of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Legislative Bodies on the State of the Treasurer's Office, which, according to Governor MacKintosh, contained material "gravely impeaching . . . [the President's] conduct." Despite the seriousness of its contents, this document was not forwarded to the Governor for more than two months, and, even when it was, the sender was the Colonial Secretary who placed it with his regular reports without any accompanying comment.

By the beginning of 1851 EDB was clearly aware that his position as President of Montserrat was under fire, particularly because of his relationship with his son, the Colonial Secretary, and his two sons-in-law, John Dobridge, the Senior Member of the island's Council, and John Osborn, Stipendiary Magistrate. On 2 January 1851 he wrote to Earl Grey: "I solemnly declare to Your Lordship and before my Maker, that I have never acted, am incapable of acting, in matters of service with relatives or connections in any way otherwise than I do and always have done with other public officers." And on a more personal note he said of his daughters: "I am a poor man dependant on my official income, the society of this Island is one of the smallest in the British Dominions, and my daughters must have either married public officers or have remained single to have been left on my death in a state of destitution." At about the same time EDB wrote to Governor MacKintosh inviting leave: "Private affairs of urgent importance requiring my presence in England I have the honor to request leave of absence for a short period."

He could hardly have picked a less propitious moment to be away from his office, and he must have known that "according to the usual routine" John Dobridge would be invited to succeed him during his absence. The Council's Senior Member was however *persona non grata* to the Governor-in-Chief, who wrote to Earl Grey on January 13: "The involved state of property, the virulence of party animosity existing in Montserrat, and, it is with much pain to add, the reputed insolvency of every Member of the Board of Council, would seem to make it desirable that an impartial temporary Administrator from abroad might advantageously be appointed." The response from the Colonial Office dated February 15 was a denial of EDB's request: he had not advanced sufficient reason; moreover, "it would involve an arrangement for the provisional administration of the Presidency that might occasion inconvenience to the public service elsewhere."

The day before, February 14, London had responded to another issue raised by Governor MacKintosh, a decision taken by EDB to increase the fees paid to his son as Registrar of Deeds, subsequently decreased by the Chief Justice: "But at the same time I am of opinion that it was not a proper proceeding on the part of the President to pass an Act for the protection of his son's interest in a point on which they might be regarded as opposed to the public interests with out transmitting it to the Governor-in-Chief in the first instance and obtaining his sanction." EDB had apparently acted within the letter of the law but naively so if he thought that others would not notice that he had advanced, however briefly, his son's cause and undermined the solemnity of his declaration to Earl Grey, especially those whom he described to the Colonial Secretary on January 18.

Your Lordship is not ignorant that owing to my having so rigidly and conscientiously protected the oppressed poor, diminished the sources of emolument to speculators in public evils by having at length succeeded in putting the finances of the country in an improved condition, discountenanced offenders, repressed wrong and upheld the law, I have incurred the ill will, and earned the hostility of certain unprincipled persons in this community whose bad feelings and disappointed hopes have been for several years past, vented in fictitious memorials, anonymous letters and reckless slanders.

Relations between EDB and his immediate superior were not improved when in April Governor MacKintosh took exception to some of the material included in the President's annual report prepared for the Blue Book of 1850, and made his feelings known to Earl Grey.

The past year has been one of extreme pressure upon private fortune in Montserrat and some of the observations of the President would be immediately recognized by all who are acquainted with the locality as pointed at an individual who, whatever may have been the measure of his faults, has been the greatest sufferer. I

cannot reconcile it to my sense of justice to omit stating that it is not among the Queen's Servants at all events, I grieve to say, that this gentleman would naturally have looked for an example of pecuniary punctuality.

MacKintosh then followed up these words, with their scarcely veiled reference to EDB's careless habits in money matters, with a closing paragraph that made clear to his superior and to EDB, who was sent a copy of this letter, that there were other concerns still unresolved surrounding EDB's Presidency: "I hope it may be still possible for me to avoid making a formal representation to Your Lordship on some passages of Mr. Baynes' administration, and do not, therefore, pursue at present this subject farther."

With respect to EDB's report, the President was deservedly proud of his annual descriptions of the state of affairs on Montserrat, and had received praise for his assessments from successive Colonial Secretaries and others persons of high repute, such as the tenth Earl of Dundonald, who remarked in March 1851 that EDB was "a governor who states the condition of the Colony under his authority in so clear and explicit a manner for the information and guidance of those who alone have the power to decide if a remedy can be applied." Earl Grey himself was later to say in a context otherwise critical that he was "not prepared . . . to take away from the zeal and ability evinced by the reports—nor desire to detract from credit due him for activity and intelligence shown in preparation of reports." Thus it was natural for EDB to view as unacceptable the Governor's proposed interference or right of rejoinder, and to express his feelings of indignation to Earl Grey in two comprehensive letters, one of 17 pages at the end of April, the other of 68 pages on June 18. On the back of the first a member of the Secretary's staff wrote that "The Governor has taken an injudicious course."

Had the Blue Book been the central complaint that Governor MacKintosh had with EBB's administration, it would never have justified his removal from office. And indeed the same would have been true had the Governor continued in his "hope . . . to avoid making a formal representation . . .," his words to Earl Grey on April 14. But by May 27, six weeks later, he had given up "hope" and in its place initiated a series of four letters, dated May 27, June 9, 10 and 15, attacking "some passages of Mr. Baynes' administration." On June 30 EDB addressed to Earl Grey the first of his several letters in defence of his performance as President. EDB's shortcomings as stressed by his superior were principally those revealed by the Report on the State of the Treasurer's Office and by the President's treatment of that report. One of the Governor's chief objections to his subordinate's

administration was that EDB did not keep him adequately informed. Thus he wrote in his first letter.

I must observe, however, in the first place, that the apparently very limited sense of responsibility as to his executive duties which Mr. Baynes consents to admit, together with the use of a certain euphuistic circumlocutory style in his written communications, makes it difficult for me to attain any knowledge whatever of the Island's affairs, except through personal inspection . . . or through such extraneous channels of testimony as are within my reach.

There were also other, more specific issues that Governor MacKintosh explained in some detail to Earl Grey, without copy to EDB: the deliberate withholding of the Committee's Report on the Treasury for several months despite the seriousness of its contents and their involvement of the President and his misrepresentation of events associated with the report; the use of the Treasury's funds without due authorization, particularly the grants of pay to J. Dobridge; the pressure exerted by EDB on the Governor to appoint J. Dobridge as Provost Marshal; and the non-payment of house rent for the past three years by J. Osborn despite affidavits signed by the President to different effect.

Earl Grey took both time and counsel before answering so serious a set of charges against a member of the Queen's service, and it was not until mid September that he was ready to reply. One of his staff took a more lenient view than that finally adopted.

I think that there can be no doubt that the general effect of these charges against Mr Baynes with his imperfect indication of his conduct is to reflect much discredit on his administration of the affairs of the Presidency and on his official character. But as on former occasions, so on this, I do not think there is any one act of irregularity so gross in itself or so plainly proved, as to be a ground for removal from office. It is very unsatisfactory that the Island should be presided over by a man labouring under debt, constantly accused of one discreditable transaction on another, having in office under him 1st son, 2nd son-in-law, 3rd son-in-law....

This same adviser put the question to the Secretary: "Is his office one of permanent tenure?" Earl Grey's comments in response were brief and encouraged no further debate. "Mr Baynes should administer the Govt. of Montserrat with advantage to the public service, and this not being the case his removal is inevitable." With respect to an argument drawn from a consideration of tenure, Earl Grey was equally emphatic: all office holders were "able to removal whenever by their own misconduct this is rendered necessary for the public interest." The Secretary of State's answer, based on two drafts prepared by Mr. Taylor and dated 15 September 1851, was addressed to Governor MacKintosh, and a copy of the dispatch was received by EDB on Montserrat a month later.

Earl Grey began his letter of September 15 by listing the material that he had considered "on the subject of Mr. Baynes' recent conduct in the administration of the affairs of Montserrat." He then noted: "I have therefore examined these papers, and I proceed to state to you the conclusions at which I have arrived." With respect to the Governor's claim that it was "difficult to get any knowledge of the Island's affairs," he agreed that EDB's delay in forwarding the Report on the Treasury "cannot be regarded as a due and faithful performance of the duty of communicating to the Governor in Chief;" it was the "plain duty of the President to communicate such a proceeding by the earliest opportunity accompanied by such explanations as he might have to offer of those parts of his conduct which were called in question." Furthermore, EDB had misrepresented events when he described a legislative action associated with the report as "rescinded." Earl Grey concluded: "On the whole I am of opinion that the President has by no means justified the manner in which this report . . . inculcating himself was withheld from you for more than two months and then silently included in a formal transmission of the minutes . . . I am led to infer that you are warranted in stating that you cannot rely on receiving from the President full and explicit information respecting the affairs of the Island."

"With regard to the irregular issues of public money," those which EDB had justified by appealing to the authority of "custom and prescriptive usage," even though this explanation was not supported by the special report Earl Grey judged EDB's actions as constituting "no wilful or corrupt misappropriation of public money." The Secretary was not prepared to see the payments made to J. Dobridge as Captain Gunner in the same forgiving light. The particular Act named Denis Farrell, not John Dobridge, as the recipient of the salary; therefore these remissions "involve irregularities of a still more culpable kind." His conclusion on this charge was very damaging to EDB: "I regard this as a case of misappropriation of public money."

Earl Grey was equally critical of EDB's "pertinacious urging" of J. Dobridge for the office of Provost Marshal at a time when his son-in-law was insolvent, more recently a defaulter. As for EDB's actions in appointing Dobridge as acting Provost Marshal and allowing "him to hold the office of Captain Gunner," the Secretary asked the question whether the President was unaware that "he who has embezzled the public money is unfit to hold office under the crown," and then gave his verdict to the Governor: "I have to desire that Mr. Dobridge be immediately dismissed from any such office which he holds."

Earl Grey also had a message for John Osborn, the other son-in-law, who for three years had failed to pay his rent, yet had received an annual allowance of £150 for home and horse on the signed declaration that the money had been properly expended. Three times EDB had signed Osborn's certificate enabling him to receive the allowance "after he had learnt that Mr. Osborn had been long neglecting to pay any house-rent and without ascertaining that that neglect had ceased, and that the house-rent had been actually paid." In self defence, EDB maintained that he had no legal right to withhold his signature. Earl Grey's answer was that the President had an official right and a duty to call Osborn to account for false declarations. He directed the Governor thus: "You will be pleased to require from Mr. Osborn an explanation of his conduct in this neglect and to transmit it to me together with a report from yourself upon it."

With respect to various other questions raised by Governor MacKintosh, Earl Grey was unwilling at this time to detract further from certain praiseworthy qualities which he recognized in EDB. He did however note that in common with a former Secretary, Lord Stanley, "I have myself been called upon more than once to transmit to Mr. Baynes for his explanation complaints made to me of his conduct in pecuniary transactions: and although I have been desirous to put the most favourable construction in my power on the explanations I received, it was impossible that I should not draw unfavourable inferences from these repeated representations of transactions of an irregular or very questionable character."

Earl Grey's despatch to Governor MacKintosh dated 15 September 1851 regarding EDB's "recent conduct" ended with his stern decision.

But setting aside all questions of previous conduct the plain result of the facts before me is to show that I cannot with true consideration for the public interest and for the credit of the Queen's service permit Mr. Baynes to continue in the office of President of Montserrat. You will therefore apprise him that it will be my very painful duty to advise Her Majesty to place the administration of the affairs of the Island in other hands and that he may expect to be relieved at any early period.

EDB received the news of his imminent removal from office in mid October, and on the 19th he wrote a short reply to Earl Grey begging him to put off carrying out his intention until the Secretary had received a full explanation, which EDB promised to prepare in time for the next mail following the 20th.

My Lord

It has been with equal grief and surprise that I have received a copy of Your Lordship's Despatch No 54 of

the 15th September to His Excellency the Governor in Chief conveying the information that for certain reasons set forth therein, it is Your Lordship's intention to relieve me at an early period from the administration of the Government of this Island.

2. I can solemnly assure Your Lordship that Your Lordship is most imperfectly informed on the important points to which Your Lordship adverts, and I pledge myself to show this in a manner so convincing that it will induce Your Lordship to modify the opinion and the extreme resolution to which Your Lordship has come, and which must otherwise have the effect of plunging together with his family, an old officer who has faithfully and honourably served the Crown for the long space of forty years, and who has most favourable testimonials of his character and conduct from officers of the highest reputation both civil and military, into, if left unprovided for, immediate irremediable and total ruin.

3. Let me then entreat Your Lordship to suspend the execution of Your Lordship's purpose, until I shall be enabled to send Your Lordship my explanation and proofs on these points which cannot fail irrefragably to overthrow the most serious facts relied on by Your Lordship, and to explain others in such a manner as to exonerate me from that high degree of blame which Your Lordship on the present view of the matter thinks imputable to me, and which in the present stage threatens my very existence, and my honour which is dearer to me than my existence.

4. Taken completely by surprise and utterly confounded by the unexpected contents of Your Lordship's Despatch, it will not be possible for me to prepare this explanation for tomorrow the 20th Instant when the Steamer is expected, but by the following mail I shall be in a condition to forward it to Your Lordship.

I have the Honour to be
My Lord
Your Lordship's
Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Edward Dacres Baynes
President

EDB followed this on the last day of October with a document of 69 pages, in which he identified three charges as grounds for the action of removal from office: that he wilfully withheld certain Legislative proceedings from the Governor for more than two months; that he resorted to misrepresentation; and that he was guilty of misappropriation of public funds. And he was vigorous and lengthy in his own defence. To each charge, however, his arguments to justify his actions appeared more jesuitical than convincing, and did not respond to Earl Grey's more compelling understanding of the facts. In respect of his own character and reputation, EDB, while quick to list the names of those "officers of the highest reputation" who would speak well of him, never acknowledged either the lack of support from the three Governors-in- Chief whom he had served while President of Montserrat or the many letters of complaint received by the Colonial Office regarding his treatment of personal debts. Such selectivity, while perhaps understandable given the circumstances that faced EDB, did not lend credibility to

his final appeal.

Without pretending to exemption from error in this matter, altogether, and without placing my views in opposition to those of Your Lordship; firm in conscious rectitude of intention, I cannot, after a life from the age of fourteen years, and more than forty years honourably spent in the service of my sovereign and my country, go down in silence to my grave, with the stigma of having been guilty of wilful misrepresentation of public matters, to my superiors, and of culpable and intentional misappropriation of the public funds, under such circumstances as those with which Your Lordship is now first made acquainted, and to which I now earnestly entreat Your Lordship's attention.

The following day, 1 November 1851, EDB wrote again to Earl Grey, this time pleading for an appointment. Following a résumé of his service and of the domestic and financial afflictions that he had endured, ending with the lament that it would have been better had he remained a Stipendiary Magistrate, a "comparatively more remunerative and more stable office," he listed the names of those who would supply letters of recommendation. Then came his closing bid for a new position: "My knowledge of several languages would probably qualify me for a consular appointment on either the Northern, or Southern America coasts; I beg however in conclusion to say, that I shall willingly accept any office to which Your Lordship may think fit to move [?] me." On the back of this letter was written the comment that there were grounds which "w[oul]d I fear preclude Ld Grey from offering him any other employment of a very responsible nature."

This request for appointment was somewhat unexpectedly supported by Governor MacKintosh, who in a letter to Earl Grey dated 28 November 1851 that otherwise added very little to the arguments for actions against EDB closed his despatch with his own plea that "it would be agreeable" to him "if, on account of his age, his large family and his lengthened service, some other sphere of employment may be found for Mr. Baynes, where equal, or increased, emoluments should reconcile him to a more strict subjection to official supervision than is suitable to his present situation." This bitter-sweet recommendation fell on the same deaf ears as EDB's entreaty: "It is not in L[ord] Grey's power to hold out expectations of other employment."

On 9 December 1851 Earl Grey reported to Governor MacKintosh that he had received EDB's "voluminous" statement, that he had taken it into consideration, but that it was "not in the public interest to change" his decision; and on 12 January 1852 that the name of Captain Booth had been submitted to the "Lord President of

the Council for presentation to The Queen." On January 21, EDB addressed in joint session for the last time the Island's Board of Council and House of Assembly.

Mr. President, and Honorable Members of the Board of Council,
Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Honorable House of Assembly,

I have received intelligence from Her Majesty's Secretary of State that Her Majesty had been pleased to appoint CAPTAIN BOOTH of the Royal Navy, to succeed me in the Presidency of this Island.

I feel the cheering consolation on this occasion of being conscious that during the lengthened course of my administration, a space of nearly eleven years, and a period of unparalleled depression of Commercial and Agricultural interests throughout the West Indies, I have endeavoured, at least to the best of my ability, to alleviate the pressure of the evils so severely and generally felt, as well as to take advantage of the signs of amelioration and returning prosperity that have at intervals displayed themselves; that these symptoms, such as they have been, and are, may not prove to be fallacious, and that your interests may not merely apparently and temporarily, but solidly and permanently improve is the wish nearest to my heart; and in their attainment you may confidently rely that the wisdom and paternal care of Her Majesty's Government will not fail to co-operate with your earnest and well-directed efforts.

Gentlemen, in my own name and in that of my family, I return you, and through you the community in general our grateful thanks for the many acts of kindness, hospitality, friendship and good will we have received at your hands. We shall ever entertain a pleasing recollection of the happy hours we have passed amongst you; and I can unfeignedly assure you, that in whatever regions or station Her Majesty may require my services, or my destiny may take me, I shall carry with me the most fervent wishes for the happiness and prosperity of this beautiful and loyal island.

Before the arrival of Capt. Booth, EDB was to write two more letters to Earl Grey. In the first, dated 2 February 1852, after speaking of Montserrat as a place where "we have now an empty jail and a population perhaps the more orderly in the West Indies" and where "we have not so much as a single paid constable," he returned to more familiar themes, that "Your Lordship will remove the reproach cast upon me, and admit my honour and character to be fully re-established, and not consign me with my family, on the grounds that have been taken, after more than forty years of faithful and zealous service to utter and immediate ruin." In the second, dated March 1, a week after Earl Grey had resigned his ministry and had been succeeded by Sir John Pakington, EDB complained strenuously that he was ignorant of the material in two of Governor MacKintosh's despatches, those of 9 and 10 June 1851 and that he claimed his right to equal justice, the privilege of all British subjects. With the clear knowledge that his Presidency was coming to an end, EDB seemed to be setting his sights on MacKintosh.

Ten days later the Reverend George Todd, Rector of the Parishes of St. Anthony and St. Patrick, signed the Certificate of Existence that EDB had "duly

administered the Government of the Island [of Montserrat] from January 1 to 10 March 1852, on which day Captain James Richard Booth, of the Royal Navy assumed the Administration of the Government."

4. RETIREMENT

Sir John Pakington had been in office only a few more days than EDB had been out of office when the latter addressed to him a long letter of complaint on March 28 at the treatment that he had received, particularly to objections taken by Governor MacKintosh "to the style and tenor of my annual and other reports forwarded for the information of Her Majesty's Government, which His Excellency is pleased to allege as one of the chief grounds, if not the principal reason for his dissatisfaction with me." EDB was also distressed that Earl Grey's views had been based on three despatches from the Governor which had not been presented to him, their subject, for "refutation and reply," and that there had been no call or petition for his removal from office as had occurred in other colonies, even though he acknowledged "not being and not having always been on the best terms with the Legislative bodies." At the conclusion of his litany of woes, he returned to several familiar themes associated with the conditions endured by himself and his family and the matter of presidential tenure.

The office was moreover bestowed as a provision for faithful and arduous services and heavy pecuniary loss in the service of Government, and for the sacrifice in the performance of my duties of my own health, and the lives of more than half of my family. I was also given to understand that the tenure of the presidencies differed from the conditions established for the regulations of the Lieutenant Governments, and I was led to consider it in the light of a permanency, or of a step to promotion. Indeed under other circumstances I certainly would not have exchanged for it the less responsible and more remunerative office of Stipendiary Magistrate.

The letter ended with the earnest appeal that "after a whole life spent in the service of the Crown, I may not, even for a short time, be left with my family, without provision or support." The man to whom it was addressed may not have met before the force of EDB's entreaties but his advisers had, and the note on the letter's back showed no change of mind or heart: "Sir John Pakington can hold out to him no expectation of being enabled to offer him employment," the message sent to EDB in the answer of the Colonial Office of 12 May 1852. Before it arrived, however, EDB had decided to take his concerns directly to London, and on April 17

he wrote to Sir John Pakington for permission to draw £200 for his passage, "it being most inconvenient and highly detrimental to my interest to remain under these circumstances."

Before leaving Montserrat, and despite the several firmly discouraging responses received earlier from Earl Grey, EDB was to write to his successor Sir John Pakington soliciting an appointment, on May 29 that of the Office of Treasurer of Antigua, and again after leaving Montserrat from St. Thomas on 16 July 1852 that of the Secretaryship of Antigua. The reaction in the Colonial Office was always the same, noted on the letter's back: "Mr. Baynes has been repeatedly informed that Sir John Pakington can hold out to him no prospect of re-employment." But it was not in his make-up to cease from asking, at least not yet.

EDB remained in England from late August to mid November 1852, when he returned to Montserrat. His base for this short visit was Greenwich, but just before leaving he moved to London for a few days to an address, 7 Craven Street, Strand, that he had used early in 1847 while on leave. To judge from the ten letters that he wrote to Sir John Pakington during the period of his stay, his main preoccupations were the return of both his honour and employment, and the pressing of charges against both Patrick Burns, the Provost Marshal of Montserrat, and Robert MacKintosh, the Governor and Commander of the Leeward Islands.

The first two letters were a reprise of earlier themes and rhetoric: "I earnestly trust that the mistakes certainly unintentional committed by me will not [be] visited on me by utter ruin." The third, dated September 8, began a full-scale attack on the conduct of Patrick Burns, whom EDB had been forced to nominate as the Island's Provost Marshal as the lesser of two evils proposed by the Governor, and on the conduct of the Governor himself, and included a request for copies of those despatches that the Governor had not shared with him. EDB's attitude to his superior and his vigorous descriptions of him are well exemplified in the following quotation: MacKintosh's language was "so uncalled for, so undignified, so discourteous, and so offensive, that I was constrained to make it at the time, the subject of a formal remonstrance to him."

The Colonial Office saw things quite differently as the comment on the letter's back makes clear: "Statements of this vindictive nature proceeding upon a distinguished officer are generally unworthy of attention, but there is one accusation

in this letter,— that of the Provost Marshal Mr Burns having written a letter . . . making an overture for the purchase of the office”— that should be investigated.

The next day, September 9, EDB wrote again to Sir John Pakington, and in this fifth letter he stated unequivocally that his intent was “the vindication” of his “reputation.”

Removed by a series of misinformations and misrepresentations, after more than forty years service from employment given to me as a provision earned by the labour of a whole life; deprived, not only of present means of existence, but my prospects hereafter also destroyed by the information that there is no hope for me ever of future employment, on which I have all along relied; and dishonoured in the estimation of the world, I am constrained reluctantly to proceed to take steps for the vindication, at least, of all that is left to me, my reputation.

Following this declaration, EDB returned to his request to see the three despatches of which the contents, he said, were unknown to him. This time, however, he added a fourth document to his list,

. . . a copy of a despatch which the officer at present administering the Government of Montserrat stated to me had been shewn him at the Colonial Office in Downing Street; in which Mr. MacKintosh says; that he could not continue in the government, if I were permitted to retain my position under him.

If Earl Grey was at any time prepared to show further lenience in respect of EDB's mistakes, then Governor MacKintosh's threat of resignation, if true, may have helped him to see EDB's removal from office as the required course.

EDB's penultimate paragraph, together with the first, set the stage for his all-out assault on Governor MacKintosh. One senses that at this point EDB must have recognized that he was not about to be rehired and therefore his vendetta against the Governor could become an all-out war.

I entreat you, Sir, to reflect that it is no light matter, for an officer who has gone through an active life with honour and credit to himself, and usefulness to society, to be reduced with more than one family entirely dependent upon him, to destitution and want as the evening of life approaches; to find himself condemned, as I have been, on mere inferences, assumptions and allegations, and even charges which have not been made known to me; and sacrificed, without a full, fair, or indeed, any real inquiry at all, (as the result will manifest,) into the intrinsic merits of the case, to the animosity, the inconvenience, or the mistakes of a superior new and unpracticed in office.

That Robert MacKintosh had served as Lieutenant Governor of the Island of St. Christopher prior to his appointment as Governor did not blunt EDB's final outburst of criticism.

The Colonial Office did not cooperate and EDB was informed that "... it is not necessary therefore but any document should be furnished you."

Five days later, September 12, EDB presented the Colonial Secretary with a list—headings—of twelve "Charges" (reproduced below as Appendix 6) "against Robert James MacKintosh Esquire, Governor in chief of the Leeward Islands," that he suggested be considered by a "Court of Inquiry established on the spot, that is, as in the case of the Lieutenant Governor of Santa Lucia, in Montserrat." On September 18, Mr. Taylor advised the Secretary thus: "From these headings of charges, it is clear that Mr. Baynes has very little of a tangible kind to allege against Governor MacKintosh, but he is a man who is sure to try the House of Commons and the Press and I think an answer refusing to entertain his charges before they are further specified would give him an advantage. This letter seems to require no answer." Mr. Taylor was obviously keenly aware of the methods that EDB had used in the past to advance his own cause.

The further specification, EDB's summary of the charges, 37 pages in all, was sent on 24 September 1852, the sixth letter from Greenwich. Except in the case of the sixth charge, this additional material, in the view of Sir John Pakington's advisers, did not merit closer attention: "These charges are so evidently vindictive and so vague and unsupported with one exception that I think it to be making too much of them to send them to the Governor for explanation." The sixth, EDB's more detailed description of the way he had been treated by the Governor with respect to Mr. Burns' appointment as Provost Marshal and of the knowledge the Governor had of Burns' transparent unsuitability to hold public office, did provoke the comment from Mr. Taylor that this charge "had some merit," and that the Governor should be "asked to supply an explanation." The eleventh charge provides a good example of the vagueness of the remaining charges, despite the sharpness of EDB's language: "For conduct highly unbecoming the character of a public officer, a gentleman, and the representative of Her Majesty, in being guilty of evasion, prevarication, and I deeply lament to add wilful and deliberate untruth, with the design, and for the discreditable purpose of misrepresenting the conduct and proceedings of a public officer."

Within this lengthy statement summarizing the case against Governor MacKintosh, EDB had a number of critical observations to make about Earl Grey's performance: that the Secretary was alleged to have said "the best and the worst that

could be said of my case, was that it was an irregularity;" that he had "paid no attention to the evidence brought by" EDB; and that "it was quite sufficient to him that he was satisfied on the subject."

Given the nature of the correspondence in September, it is somewhat surprising that on October 12 EDB applied to Sir John Pakington soliciting an appointment to Grenada. He could not have claimed that the answer received a little over two weeks later from Mr. Melville was unexpected: "I am at the same time to add that Sir John Pakington cannot hold out any hope of being able to re-employ you in the Public Service." Even so, in his ninth letter to the Colonial Secretary dated November 4, EDB asked to know the grounds for refusing re-employment. After all, he noted, there was Governor MacKintosh's recommendation and there were many testimonials on his behalf. "If there are any reasons in existence for my absolute removal from the public service," he requested "that they will be frankly communicated to me, in order, if unable to defend and exonerate myself I may bow with conscience to the justice of the course that has been taken against me." Again, EDB cannot have been surprised by the reply dated November 15, however much it may have annoyed him: "the grounds for your recall stated in Lord Grey's Despatch to Governor MacKintosh . . . are such as preclude Sir John Pakington from holding out to you any expectation that he will have an opportunity of finding you re-employment in the public service."

EDB's final letter written in England to Sir John Pakington was sent from 7 Craven Street, Strand, in London on November 12, and in it he asked the Colonial Secretary to tell him what progress had taken place regarding his charges against Governor MacKintosh and Mr. Patrick Burns, his reason being "for the purpose of enabling me to communicate with my legal adviser on the subject." A few days later EDB left England for Montserrat. The reply dated November 27 and signed by the Earl of Desart, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, despite its bureaucratic correctness had no more meaning than the current saying "don't call us, we'll call you." "The charges in question are matters in which the interests of the public service only are concerned, and . . . should those interests require Sir John Pakington to ask you for any further information, he will apply for it accordingly."

On December 16 EDB wrote to Sir John Pakington from Montserrat, informing him that he had returned to the Island to prepare for the prosecution of Governor MacKintosh through the collection and arrangement of evidence.

Thirteen days later EDB sent his final letter of 1852 to the Colonial Secretary in strong response to Earl Desart's reply of late November.

I ask in the name of equal and impartial justice that he [=MacKintosh] be measured with the measure that has been applied to me, and that he be visited in his turn with the official consequences which he has so unscrupulously involved and so unjustly drawn upon me; and that I may be spared the trouble, the expense and the pain of being compelled to inflict a real injury on the public service by carrying this unfortunate matter beyond this present appeal to yourself.

These last two letters, although addressed to Sir John Pakington, were received by the Duke of Newcastle, who had taken over the Colonial Office on 28 December 1852 and was to retain this portfolio until 12 June 1854 and the outbreak of the Crimean war.

In 1853 and 1854 EDB continued to barrage Sir John Pakington and, after him, the Duke of Newcastle with letters from Montserrat. In the first three months of 1853, for example, there were eight to the Colonial Secretary, and in the same period in 1854 six. In 1853 the subjects covered by these letters were for the most part the same subjects as in 1852: Messers Burns and Armstrong and their unfitness to be considered for the office of Provost Marshal; Governor MacKintosh, his alleged suppression of documents submitted to him, and the other charges levelled at him by EDB; and EDB's unceasing plea that his removal from office be reconsidered and his record of service rewarded with further employment. In one area only did EDB see his opinion vindicated: Patrick Burns was removed from office in February 1853. His attempts to make a public issue of Governor MacKintosh's character and behaviour through an inquiry met with no success, and, to judge from the Governor's comments, also in February, to the Duke of Newcastle in response to EDB's charges—"I have little leisure [for] the perusal of papers, passing as these have done between third parties, so voluminous, as they evidently are"—the Colonial Secretary did not press him for a serious accounting and allowed the hauteur of his manner to go unchallenged. As for re-employment, EDB continued to apply for Presidencies or Lieutenant Governorships as they became open in the West Indies—twice in 1853, twice in 1854 and once in 1856—and continued to receive the same polite but firm rejection from the Colonial Office.

One quite unexpected vacancy was caused by the sudden death of Captain Booth, R. N., President of Montserrat on 21 August 1853 "of the prevailing epidemic." In notifying the Duke of Newcastle of this unhappy event, Governor

MacKintosh made clear that he wanted a replacement as soon as possible, "the less the delay . . . the more will the welfare of the Island be consulted." On August 23 EDB submitted his application through the Governor to the Colonial Secretary to be that replacement.

My Lord Duke

The melancholy and unexpected death of Captain Booth having left the administration of this government vacant, I respectfully venture to solicit Your Grace to re-appoint me. I have now been eighteen months out of employment and have in consequence been subjected to much distress from the great number of persons, amongst whom are the families of two widowed daughters, all entirely dependent for their support on an income of the slenderest amount.

I need not here revert to the length of my services, nor to the testimonials in my favour at the Colonial Office, but I would venture on this occasion to refer to the addresses of the Legislature and of the inhabitants of the Island on my late recel [sic], testifying their satisfaction with my administration, and to the fact that this Island formerly perhaps the most disorderly and turbulent in the West Indies was under my government reduced to perfect order and tranquility, so that during the last three months of my employment, there was not a single prisoner in jail, and to this I can add that I am not likely to fall again into the mistakes which led to my relief from the Government in 1851.

I have the honour to be
My Lord Duke
Your Grace's
Most Obedient
Humble Servant
Edward Dacres Baynes

It is easy to assume, perhaps too easy given EDB's consistent habit of ignoring past criticism of his performance as President, that the Duke of Newcastle did not expect an application from EDB for his former office nor an admission of mistakes that had led to his "relief," and that Mr. Merivale's comment on the letter's back may reflect that surprise: "I suppose this may be answered by a direct negative." And the Secretary's response was direct indeed, even terse: "I cannot comply with his application for the appt. of President of that Island."

In February 1854, EDB found a new way to aggravate the Governor of the Leeward Islands. He acted as advocate for a group of destitutes on Montserrat and on their behalf addressed a petition bearing their names through Governor MacKintosh to the Duke of Newcastle "complaining of the hardship to which they are exposed in consequence of the stoppage for the present of the Out-Door Relief which they have been heretofore in the habit of receiving from the Guardian of the Poor." The Governor clearly did not appreciate this intervention by EDB: "I must

lament the sufferings of these parties; which are however attributable in my opinion to no one individual more distinctly than to Mr. Baynes himself in respect of the degree to which he appeared to me to be responsible for the present deplorable condition of the finances of an Island the affairs of which he himself administered for more than ten years." London's response, dated March 16, was to ask whether the stoppage was legal; did not the payment of paupers come before any other claims on the Treasury? Before he could answer, the Governor had another "memorial" from EDB, this time on his own behalf and that of three others complaining of a lack of official courtesy on the part of the Acting President towards them. In dealing with this, the Governor again used it as a means of attacking EDB, and made clear to the Duke of Newcastle that EDB was the mind behind, no less than the author of, these complaints. On May 25, the Colonial Office informed Governor MacKintosh that stoppage should not have taken place, one might assume to the annoyance of the Governor and the satisfaction of the ex-President.

That same spring, EDB, learning that England had entered the Crimean War, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle "to offer my services to, and solicit employment from Her Majesty's Government of any description for which I may be held to be qualified, and wherever I may be deemed most useful." This time he deserved a more sympathetically expressed response than the proposed answer: "I cannot hold out any hope of offering him any appointment under the Department." After all, for whatever his motives, he had answered his country's call to arms.

In 1855 EDB again tried to intervene in the affairs of Montserrat. He wrote a memorial to Sir William Molesworth, Secretary of State for the Colonies (21 July-21 November 1855), "impugning the manner in which the *pro forma* assent had been given to two recent Acts passed by the Legislature abolishing Customs and imposing Land Tax," an action described as a "last hope and final effort to defeat these measures." Beyond this date EDB faded from the view of the Colonial Office as his stream of correspondence from Montserrat to its various officials ceased, except for a long memorial sent to London in 1858 arguing his case for a superannuation allowance. The E. D. Baynes who took his place as a regular correspondent, for example, soliciting the Lieutenant Governorship of Tobago on 13 February 1863, was his son, Edwin Donald.

5.DEATH

In May 1863, Edwin Donald Baynes was appointed Colonial Secretary of Antigua, and so he and his young family moved from Montserrat to a house on St. Mary's Street in St. John's, Antigua's capital. EDB, by then a man in his early seventies, who several years before had moved to St. John's, was there with his wife to greet them. But the family reunion was of short duration, for the father died in his son's house on 5 November 1863. The following notice of the event appeared in the *Antigua Weekly Register*, issue of November 17: "On Thursday the 4th of November, at the residence of his Son, the Hon'ble EDWARD DACRES BAYNES, for some years a President in the isle of Montserrat, and father of EDWIN DONALD BAYNES, Esq're., Colonial Secretary of this Island." The *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. 216, January-June 1864) also reported EDB's death but under the date 5 November 1863: "At the island of Antigua, Edward Dacres Baynes Esq., for some years President of the Island of Montserrat, eldest son of the late Thomas Baynes, Esq., and brother of Vice-Admiral. Sir R. Lambert Baynes, K. C. B." The official date as declared by his son, the Colonial Secretary, on the certificate of death was in fact November 5, and the cause was given as "mechanical obstruction of bowels." The service of burial took place the next day, November 6, in the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine, conducted by Bishop William Waldron Jackson, third Bishop of Antigua. Less than eight weeks later, Francesca, his wife, died on December 28 in their wooden white house overlooking St. John's harbour.

POSTSCRIPT

As I wrote in the Preface, the purpose of the research that I have conducted these past many years has been to identify and to understand in some useful way the anonymous author of the poem *Childe Harold in the Shades. An Infernal Romaunt*, published in London in January, 1819: "... who was this writer who held such strong views and threw insults so widely?"

My research has had positive results. I can now compose for Edward Dacres Baynes (1790-1863), until now a virtually unknown person, a standard biographical entry covering his birth and parentage, professional education, career as an officer first in the Royal Artillery and later in the service of the Colonial Office, marriage and family, retirement and death, and, if so required, include an annotated list of his published writings. Despite this considerable advance, some important aspects of EDB's life are still a blank; for example, I know nothing about his mother's family, his wife's, or his early education. Other areas are poorly documented, for example, the early years of his married life in Malta, from about 1820 to 1834. By contrast, however, his years in the West Indies as a Stipendiary Magistrate and as President of Montserrat are well documented in the files of the Colonial Office in the Public Records Office.

Further studies would undoubtedly add more details to what is already known about EDB; some blanks would be filled, some new relationships with his contemporaries established, and more details about his career as a colonial agent on Jamaica added. But would this investment of additional time in an effort to collect even more facts about EDB reward us with a significantly enlarged, or altered, understanding of the man of twenty-nine who wrote *Childe Harold in the Shades* or of the poem itself, or with an awareness of the importance of EDB's whole life that justified more research?

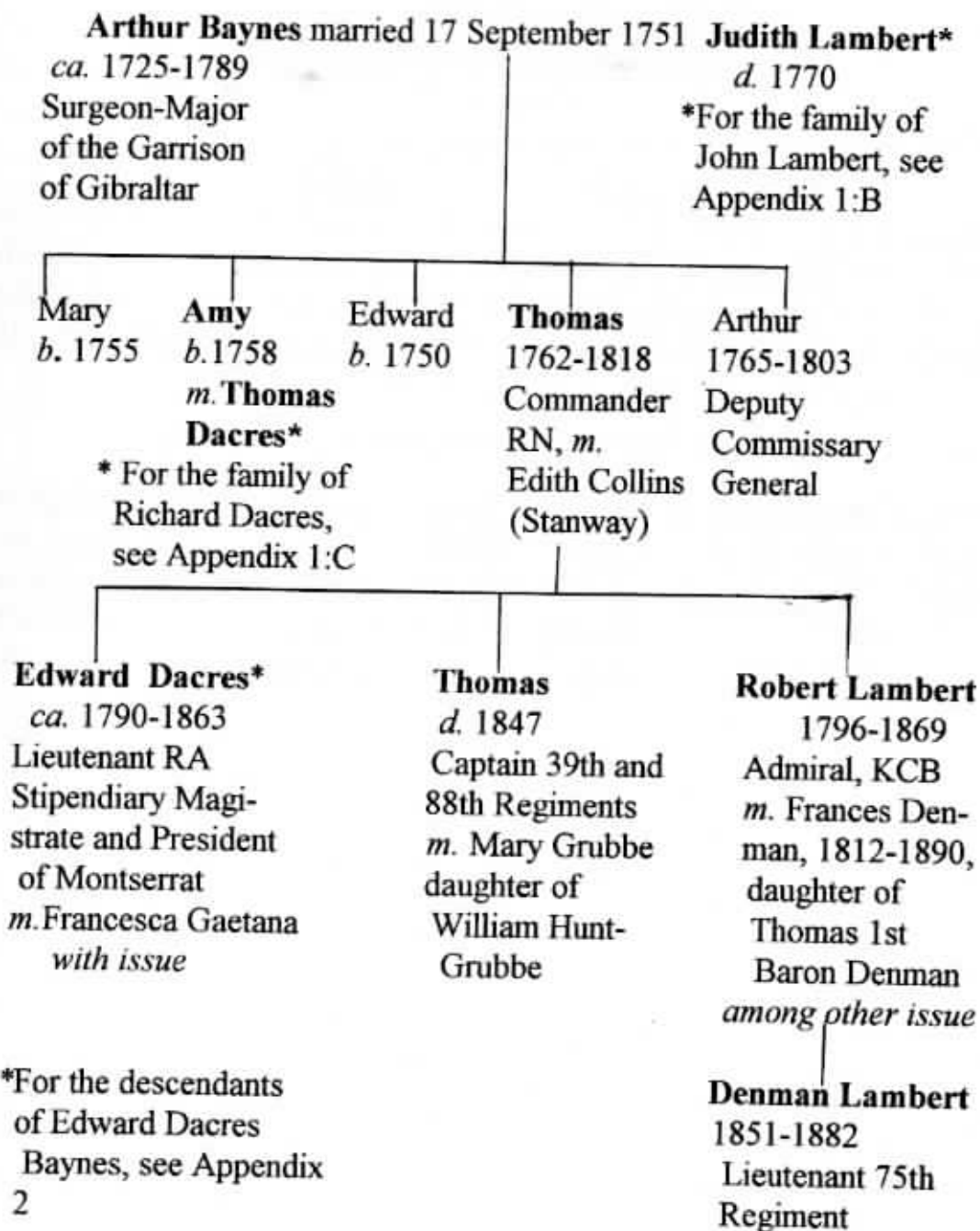
To this two-fold question, my answer to the first part is probably not, to the second definitely not. With respect to the latter, new facts will not change our general view of EDB's class and education, nor reveal that he was a better or more prolific writer, or that his long career in the service of his country as either a gunner or a magistrate has been significantly underrated. As for the former, our understanding of EDB in 1819, further research might better define the character of the literary world which shaped his writings, for example, his connections with Lord Holland, John Hookham Frere, and other "Holland House *habitués*." But there is no guarantee that any such definition will lead to a better appreciation of *Childe Harold in the Shades* and of its author than now exists. After all, we have the poem as EDB intended it to be read, and we surely know enough about him and the London scene in the years immediately following the defeat of Napoleon to place it in a meaningful context.

To conclude, much as though I have enjoyed the excitement of this scholarly hunt for EDB and our sighting of him, I think it is time to call off the hounds before they destroy interest in the quarry.

APPENDIX 1

EDB: FORBEARS AND SIBLINGS

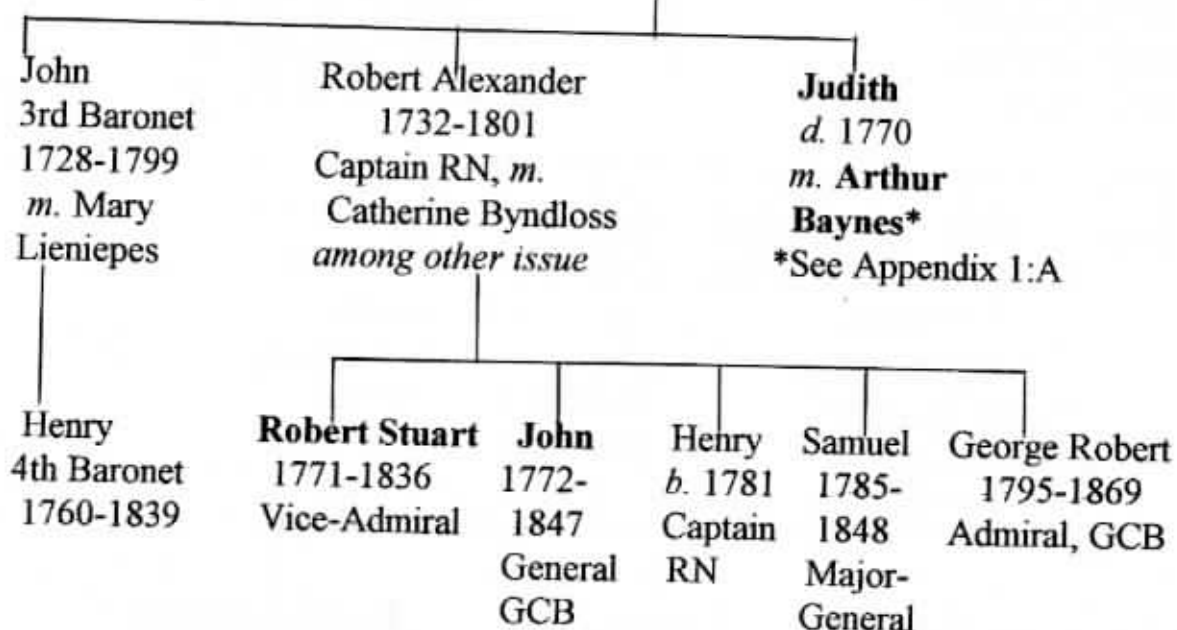
A: FAMILY OF ARTHUR BAYNES



B: FAMILY OF JOHN LAMBERT

John Lambert married Anne Holmes
 2nd Baronet
 1690-1772

among other issue (5 sons, 4 daughters)



C: FAMILY OF RICHARD DACRES

Richard Dacres
Solicitor and Sec-
retary to the Garrison
of Gibraltar

James Richard
1749-1810
Rear-Admiral
m. Eleanor Pearce

James Richard
b. ca. 1782
Rear-Admiral
m. Arabella Dal-
rymple

Thomas
ca. 1758-1808
Captain 39th Regi-
ment, *m.* **Amy**
Baynes *no issue*

Richard
1799-1886
Field-Marshal
GCB

Richard
1761-1837
Vice-Admiral,
GCH, *m.* Martha
Milligan

Sidney Colpoys
1805-1884
Admiral GCB
m. Emma
Lambert

APPENDIX 2

EDB: DESCENDANTS

A: THE FAMILY OF EDWARD DACRES BAYNES

Edward Dacres Baynes

ca. 1790-1863

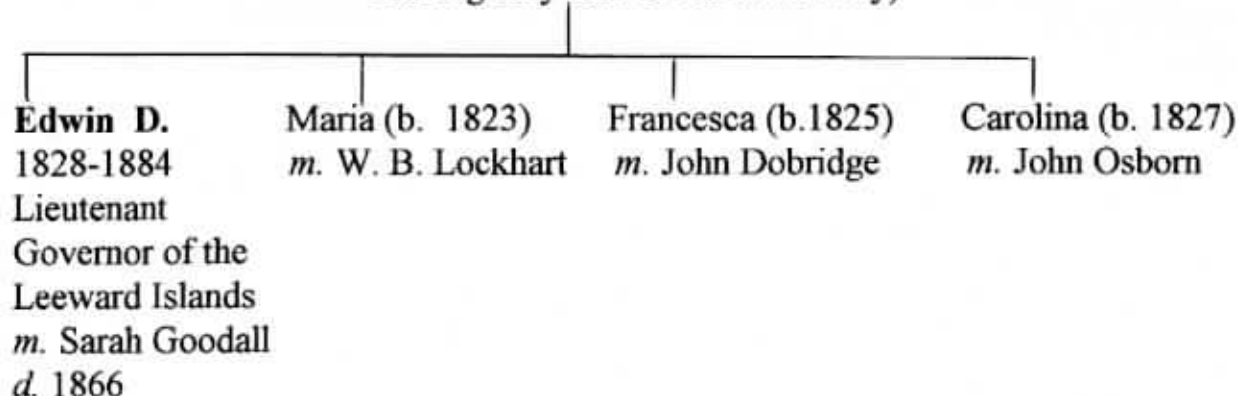
Lieutenant RA

Stipendiary Magistrate and

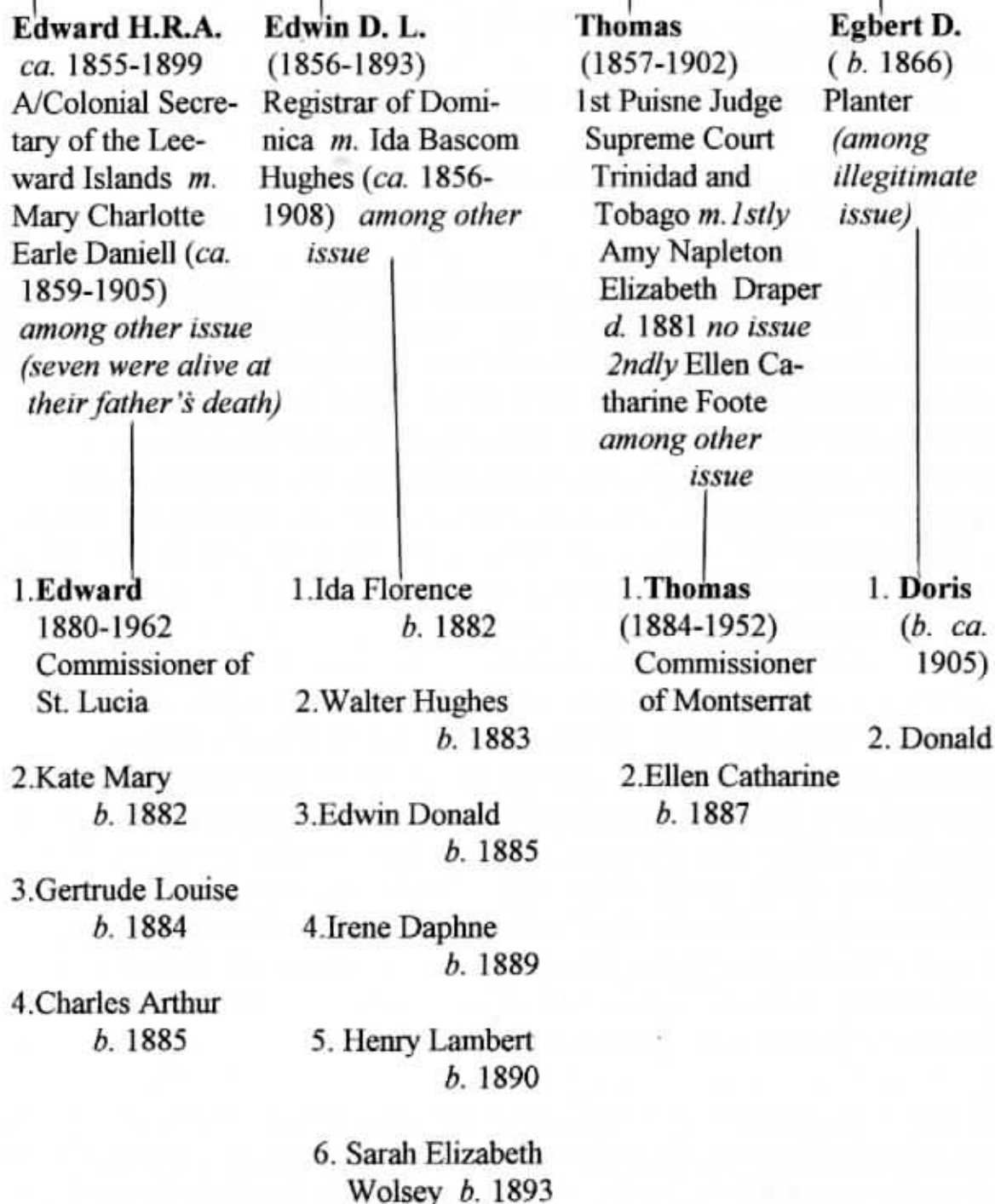
President of Montserrat

m. Francesca Agatha Gaetana *ca.* 1800-1863

(of their many children eight—four boys and four girls—survived to make the trip from Malta to Jamaica in 1834; and of these four, including the eldest son, had died by 1838; another daughter died in 1851 or 1852, leaving only four to reach maturity)



[Edwin Baynes had eight children, the four sons noted below, two daughters who married, Sarah (*b.* 1860) the older to Dr. Edwards, and Francesca to Dr. Branch, and a third who died an infant, and a fifth son called Edgar and many grandchildren. Those named were born in Antigua.]



APPENDIX 3

A MEETING WITH NURSE DORIS BAYNES- ANDREA

GOOD FRIDAY: 5 APRIL 1996

I met with Nurse Doris Baynes at her upstairs apartment on Redcliffe Street in St. John's in mid-afternoon of Good Friday. She spoke of herself as eighty-nine—and she looked like a person in her eighties at least—, having begun her career in nursing in the twenties, a “city” person. She is light skinned: her mother was black, her father white. Her stories were brightly told— she had memory lapses, particularly with names— but I had asked her to talk about her father and his family. And because she was born of a black woman, illegitimately, she was largely ignored by them. The following four paragraphs come from the notes that I made shortly after I left my interview with Nurse Baynes.

“She did not know her father's real name; she knew him as Bertie. He was a Baynes with several sisters, the youngest being Fanny. One married Dr. Branch, another a Mr. Edwards. His father was a senior government official who on occasions acted as Governor. “Bertie” was determined not to enter the regular professions, such as colonial service or law like his relatives. He wanted to be a planter, to ride. His father was adamantly opposed, but his mother's view was that he should be allowed to follow his wishes. But when he began to live with a black woman, he was virtually ostracised by his family. By one woman he had several children, by a second another group. Nurse Baynes remembered one half-sister Amalia, and a brother Donald. The latter lived at Jennings, where his son Edward is an electrician and has five or more children.

“Nurse Baynes recognizes that her father was not a good parent, that he drank rum and had no money. The plantation that he worked on may have been owned by the Jewissons [?]. In his final illness he came to St. John's and stayed with a close friend, a lawyer. Nurse Baynes was told of his serious condition by

one of her father's sisters. She called on him, reluctantly; she recognized that he was very sick. They talked—it was Maundy Thursday—and it seemed to his daughter that he had come to terms with Jesus and hoped to be a better parent should he survive; otherwise, he had nothing to leave her, not even a dollar for a black dress. He died around Easter, but Nurse Baynes did not attend the funeral as she had a nasty gash on her left leg. Her father was a mature man at the time of his death, but he was not old.

“She reported that her father's family were not amused if her name ever appeared in the Government Gazette, for example, her appointment as a Regional Nurse, and wanted her name removed. And once when brought to one of her relatives—her aunt—who needed nursing, she had words when the patient tried to interfere with her professional duties. This Nurse Baynes would not allow, nor would she accept to be called by any other name than Nurse Baynes.

“Nurse Baynes got her own education as a nurse in the St. John's Hospital, and payment involved forgoing three months' pay. She married and has two sons, one an agriculturalist, the other a general accountant, but both live other than on Antigua. Her husband died some years ago, and she has lived alone. She made clear that what her father did made his life a sad one and made hers similarly so. But she through professional efficiency became a most respected nurse; he never, unless at the very end, found a role for himself.”

Because the National Archives of Antigua and Barbuda was closed the Monday following Easter, my last day on Antigua, I was unable to check in the Archives the records of Births, Marriages and Deaths covering the appropriate periods indicated by Nurse Baynes' references to her father and his family. For example, there should be a record of Bertie's death; there should be documents associated with his sisters' marriages; and even Nurse Baynes' birth should be listed. It should thus be possible to establish Bertie's parentage and dates, and to locate him in the family tree of EDB's descendants presented in Appendix 3. Even without the results of such research, one can assume with some degree of certainty that Nurse Baynes was born as early as 1907 or as late as 1916, thus in the period before or during the years of the First World War. Her father must therefore have been born no later than the 1880's or 1890's. Such a date would place him among the children of Edward, Edwin and Thomas Baynes, all born in the West Indies in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. My own preference at this time

would be to identify Bertie as one of the three children of Edward Hercules Baynes born away from Antigua. And if so, his eldest brother would have been Edward William Baynes, who for a decade, 1925-1935, was Colonial Secretary of the Leeward Islands and on several occasions acted as Governor. While Nurse Baynes' description of Bertie's parents being closely involved in the young man's decision to become a planter cannot be applied to Edward Hercules Baynes, who died in 1899, his wife in 1905, it might better apply to Edward William Baynes, particularly in terms of chronology and office. But further speculation must await further research among the records that exist in Antigua.

Postscript, 13 September 2002: Most of the speculation in the last paragraph must be ignored since I have learned in the past week from a genealogy prepared by Mr. Ronald Baynes, a grandson of Thomas Baynes, that his grandfather's youngest brother was Egbert D. Baynes, born in the autumn of 1866, and that he had two sisters, Sarah, the wife of Dr. Edwards, and Francesca, the wife of Dr. Branch, all of which information allows us to identify Bertie as the youngest child of Edwin Donald Baynes (1828-1884) and Sarah Goodall who is reported to have died in 1866, at the time of Egbert's birth. One thing about Nurse Baynes' account that must be discarded is the reference to his mother's opinions. His father's views, on the other hand, may well reflect the truth. As for her age, her relatives report that at this time—2002—“she thinks she is about 97”, thus putting her birth about 1905. Such a date for her birth would be within a year of the calculation that I made following my meeting with her in 1996.

Postscript, 23 January 2003: On reading Robert Baynes' study of Edwin Donald Baynes, I have learned that five years after the death of his first wife, Egbert's mother, he “married for a second time, a marriage that seem to have been injudicious.” Perhaps Eliza Wolsey Daniel, Egbert's step-mother from the age of five, was the person who supported Egbert's wish to be a planter, strongly opposed by his father.

and another was without a word of criticism or praise, and quoted twenty consecutive lines to “give a fair idea of Mr. Baynes’ versification” (*Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 88 part 2 [July to December 1818] 240-1).

The *National Union Catalog* lists two copies in North America, one at the University of Texas, the other in the Library of Congress. While the catalogue entry for the former correctly describes it as a second edition, there is no indication in the *NUC* whether a similar notation governs the latter. In recent work on Ovid I have seen no references to EDB’s translations.

2. *Love and Laudamum; or, The Sleeping Dose: A Farce, in Two Acts*, London: printed for S. Bagster, 15 Paternoster Row, 1818.

The title-page also records that the play had been “lately performed with distinguished applause.” The Preface, dated at “Mulgrave Place, Woolwich, April 2, 1818,” adds the information that the play’s first performance took place “at the Theatre Woolwich, on the 23d February last [see below the evidence for supposing that February is a mistake for January], and there repeatedly acted with an applause which exceeded my most sanguine expectations.” The author continues: “its publication was hastened by the announcement of a piece of like title in the Drury-Lane bills, the first performance of which I witnessed last night [1 April 1818], when I was surprized to find the main incidents of the Farce so similar, that if not copied from the following, the coincidence is a little astonishing.” This competing play had the title *The Sleeping Draught*, and was the work of Samson Penley, even though neither EDB nor the advertisements of the day mentioned his name.

Twelve days after writing the Preface with its barely veiled accusation of plagiarism, EDB wrote a letter dated April 14th which “appeared in the daily papers” the day following a similarly published letter from Mr. Penley, and in it he stated that “. . . it is impossible to maintain, in the face of so solemn an asseveration, the charge of plagiarism, which I did not bring against him without apparent good ground.” The critic in the *Theatrical Inquisitor, and Monthly Mirror* judged EDB’s response to be “very satisfactory and gentlemanlike.”

In a recent publication (1984), *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, there is an amusing offprint, "Love and laudanum, or The sleeping dogs," apparently drawn from a microfilm of the catalogue of the library holdings at Harvard University. And the earliest listing of EDB's play in the *Edinburgh Review* for the period February to June 1818 conflates the title of both plays and gives no author: *Love and Laudanum, or The Sleeping Draught*.

In *Literary Reviews in British Periodicals 1789-1820. A Bibliography* compiled by W. S. Ward, 2 vols. (New York and London 1972), a review of this play is recorded in *Theatrical Inquisitor, and Monthly Mirror*, vol. 12 (April 1818) 272-6. An outline of the plot, with some critical comments, appeared in the same periodical on pp. 142-3, contributed by "A Constant Reader" and dated Feb. 14, 1818. In this account the play is described as "an entirely new Farce, entitled "Love and Laudanum; or The Old Bombardier," and the date of its first performance is given as "Friday, the 23rd of January," an acceptable combination of day and date. If the play had been first performed on February 23, as EDB wrote, then it is virtually impossible to account for the dateline of February 14. I conclude that the reference to February in EDB's Preface is a mistake for January.

3. *Childe Harold in the Shades. An Infernal Romaunt*, London: printed for Thomas Hookham, Jun., Old Bond-Street; and Sherwood and Co., Paternoster-Row, 1819. The text is reproduced below in Appendix 8.

The poem contains almost seventy surnames, the majority published with missing letters, for example, BY—N, obviously to be understood as Byron. All these names are listed in Appendix 8 and identifications suggested where possible.

Because the author of this "Romaunt" cannot be identified from the work itself, the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* has it listed under Anonymous. In the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, it is bound with EDB's *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems* (London 1819), on the title-page of which is printed beneath EDB's name "Translator of Ovid's Epistles; Author of Childe Harold in the Shades." EDB protected his anonymity for a matter of only a few months to judge from the fact that item 3 appeared in 1819 and item 4 below was listed in the *Edinburgh Review* for the period March to July 1819.

In a note to the last line of Canto 1, Stanza lii, "Thy trading fingers make their Parthenon a prey," the author, EDB that is, writes that he too "has been on the spot and is acquainted with the value of money there." The point of reference is Athens, more particularly the Acropolis, and EDB may have been there either on local leave or as part of his duties during his posting as an artillery officer in Messina, October 1811-January 1815.

Ward (*Literary Reviews*, see under item 1 above for a full citation), who catalogued this poem under Anonymous, has listed four reviews: *British Critic*, vol. 11 (January 1819) 83-7; *British Stage*, (3 March 1819) 75-6; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 89 (April 1819) 336-7; and *Literary Gazette*, (30 January 1819) 66-7.

Although EDB's satire has some relevance for scholars of Byron and of his presumed attitude towards Lord Elgin, *Childe Harold in the Shades* has been almost entirely ignored. One exception is Samuel C. Chew (*Byron in England His Fame and After-Fame* [London 1924] 110 and 363) who describes the poem as an "excessively tedious piece" and "stupid." The rest of his comments are borrowed without reference from the considerably longer and far less abusive review that appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and in common with that review he makes no reference to Elgin. Did Chew read EDB's second canto?

4. *Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems*, London: printed by Thomas Division, Whitefriars; For Thomas Hookham, Jun. 15, Old Bond-Street; and Baldwin and Co. Paternoster-Row, 1819.

Apart from the poems themselves, this publication contains some details about EDB's career. As noted above, EDB claims authorship of *Childe Harold in the Shades*, and with respect to the *Pastorals* tells his readers that they were written "when he had not completed his 16th year" and that they are "now printed *verbatim* from a manuscript of that age."

Concerning *Ruggiero*, the original of which was "written in the Sicilian language," EDB was given the manuscript "during his stay at Syracuse, in the summer of 1814, by an elderly gentleman of that town" and had further

communications with that gentleman as late as November 1818. EDB was stationed in Sicily at Messina as 1st Lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery in Captain Hickman's Company from October 1811. Thus he was able to describe from personal knowledge the "great eruption of Aetna" in November 1811, and to make a second ascent of Aetna in 1812. Similarly, his references to Taormina, Catania and Syracuse reflect his travels in Sicily while posted at Messina for a little over three years until January 1815. His several references to Sumatra and one to India, all in connection with spice and its taste, may possibly suggest that he had also traveled to the East, but in later summaries of his career EDB never claimed any such experience.

According to Ward (*Literary Reviews*), there are reviews of EDB's collection of poems in *La Belle Assemblée*, vol. 19 (May 1819) 227-8 and *Monthly Review*, vol. 90 (October 1819) 209-11.

5. *Ovid's Epistles*, vol. 2.

In the same Advertisement noted above (see item 1), EDB gave notice of the forthcoming publication of his second volume of translations of Ovid's *Epistles*, in this case "the fourteen remaining . . . , which will complete the translation," and "will be published during the present year," that is 1819. On the final page of item 1 above, it is noted with greater detail that "Volume II. of the translation . . ." will appear "about the end of August next."

In the Preface to the first volume of his translations of the *Epistles*, EDB laid out the precise plan for his projected work: "I propose to complete the whole twenty-one in twelve months from the present time [that is, February 1818]. The remaining fourteen will form Volume II., and III., each containing seven Epistles, and will appear, a period, at most, of six months elapsing between the publication of each volume." Epistles numbered 3, 8, 9, 11, 14, 18 and 19 were to appear in Volume II, 1, 2, 6, 12, 13, 20 and 21 in Volume III, though not in that order.

To date I have found no evidence to suggest that the publication of the second volume did in fact take place.

6. "The Uninhabited Villa. A Sicilian Fact" *The Keepsake for MDCCLXXXIV* (pp. 293-305) London: published by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman. Paris: Bittner and Goupill. Berlin: A. Asher.

The Keepsake was published annually for thirty years, 1827-1857, under a succession of four editors, Frederic Mansel Reynolds, Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, the Countess of Blessington, and Miss Power (the Countess's niece), the last three being aristocratic ladies well known as authors and poets. A large number of their contributors came from the same upper class as the editors. In the volume that contained EDB's modest "gothic tale," of the thirty three contributors almost forty percent would have found their names in *Debrett's Peerage*, and two were numbered among EDB's strong supporters, Lord Holland and Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. Given such a cast of writers, it is perhaps not too difficult to appreciate the criticism that underlies the comment that forms part of the article on the first editor that appeared in *The Dictionary of National Biography*: "This annual, in which the engravings usually atoned for the general feebleness of the literary contributions, was produced with lavish expense, and was probably the best of its class."

In the material that Robert Dacres Baynes has rescued from the *The Jamaica Dispatch and Kingston Chronicle* of February 1839 in which there is a lengthy account of the trial of Lt. Griffiths for the abduction and rape of Francesca, EDB's daughter, Mr. Parten in his defence of the accused is reported to have described "the whole as being a made-up story, and a base conspiracy on the part of the Baynes family, to bolster up the tarnished reputation of one of its own members, by sacrificing the life of a gentleman whose conduct was unfortunately not free from blame. He compared the story as being equal to any Italian romance that had ever been concocted; there was the handle of the door removed, the poisoned cup, the chalice and everything else, that made it little short of any of the Sicilian tales of which Mr. Baynes was the author." Despite Mr. Parten's reference to the existence of at the very least a number of Sicilian tales written by EDB, only this one in *The Keepsake*, published a few years before the trial involving the author's daughter, has come to light, drawn to my attention by William St. Clair, to whom I am very grateful for the copy that he recently sent me, together with the information that this was EDB's only contribution to this annual. It is hard to see how this one known Sicilian tale played a role of any significance in Griffiths' defence.

7. *A Letter From E. D. Baynes, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate, To the Honourable Commissioners of Correspondence, Who met on Friday, the 31st August, And To the Gentlemen of the Late Grand Inquest, for the County of Surry, in Jamaica*, Jamaica: published in Kingston by James Dalhousie, Esq., Agent for "The West Indian;" and in Spanish-Town, by the author, 1838.

This so-called "*Letter*" presents an interesting picture of Jamaica as seen by EDB not only in his role as a Stipendiary Magistrate but also as Editor of "The West Indian," a journal that he had edited from the beginning of 1838 until its demise before the end of that year. In both capacities EDB was fiercely liberal, an undeviating proponent of the anti-slavery policies of Great Britain and a protector of the freed negro. Because of his views and his vigorous ways of carrying out his duties, EDB was frequently maligned and, in his opinion, mistreated by the courts, as well as opposed in the pro-slavery journal "*Despatch*." The penultimate paragraph of the *Letter* is worth quoting as much for its style as its content.

When Clergymen of the Church of England so far forget their sacred functions as to convert the pulpit into a tribune, and to preach offensively and indecently to his face, from the episcopal seat, against the highest authority in the country, it is surely time for loyal subjects and honest men not only (if they have it in their power) to write strongly, but to be prepared to act so, if required, in the due performance of the duties of their station.

EDB was prepared to do both, with force and honour.

For several years I have assumed the possibility that EDB was also responsible for a second published work in 1838, one entitled "*Ill Treatment of Apprentices*." The evidence for this hypothesis is an entry in the *Catalogue of the Colonial Library* in the Library and Records Department at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, where EDB is named as the author of a publication under this title. (I owe my initial knowledge of this reference to Helen Glass.) In September 1996 I visited the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and through the good offices of Carole Edwards saw not only the *Catalogue* but also the volume numbered 2803 indicated as the location of EDB's writing. Volume 2803 contains a number of contemporary off-prints, EDB's *Letter* among them, all concerned with the situation in Jamaica following the introduction of the apprenticeship system. There is no separate publication by EDB with the title "*Ill Treatment of Apprentices*" in this volume. Whoever catalogued this bound collection has misapplied this title to item 7, EDB's *Letter . . . to the Honourable Commissioners of Correspondence . . .*

8. *Annals of England, A Poem, in Four Books*, London: Whittaker and Co. Ave Maria Lane, 1847. [It was printed by Gilbert and Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square.]

The Preface, dated 15 March 1847, contains useful information about the genesis and development of the publication, particularly the first paragraph quoted below in its entirety.

On commencing the Poem, of which the four books now published form the first part, it was my intention to have brought it down to a much later period, and to have extended the number of books to twelve; but, arriving in this country, after a residence of many years abroad, I found the public so little disposed in favour of poetical composition of any kind, that without altogether giving up the original design, I resolved on the separate publication of the first four books, and on guiding myself with respect to the continuation and completion of the work, by the reception given to these. This portion brings up the course of events to the end of the Saxon era, and thus being complete in itself, affords a fair opportunity of testing public opinion.

A note, set in quotation-marks, in which an event that occurred in Florence in 1822 is vividly described, may indicate that the author was in that city at that time. Otherwise, this publication provides no specific details about the author's career.

No additional books of EDB's *Annals* were issued as far as I can tell. With respect to the popularity of the poem as published, one brief critical notice that I have come across, in the *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* (vol. 80 [June 1847] 252), speaks of "the positive impossibility of treating such subjects poetically;" and I can report that the copy in the British Library did not have its pages cut until 1991 when my eldest son arranged that I receive a copy. I can also correct the information given in the *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* and the *British Library Public Catalogue* that this book was published in 1849. Not so the copy in the British Library, which is unambiguously dated 1847, nor my own, once the possession of Edward William Baynes (1880-1962), EDB's great-grandson, descended from EDB's only son to survive the family's first years on Jamaica (see above pp. 68-69 for the genealogy involved). The same erroneous date of 1849 for EDB's final publication is also repeated in *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, Volume 4 (Cambridge 1999) edited by Joanne Shattock, cols. 231/232.

APPENDIX 5

A GATHERING OF THE REVIEWS

OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF

EDB

Material placed in square brackets or not in inverted commas has been supplied by the compiler.

Ovid's Epistles

1. *The Monthly Review*, vol 88 (January to April 1819) pp.208-210.

"It is stated that this volume is to be followed by two others, and that the whole is to contain a complete translation of the Epistles of Ovid, by one hand. With the exception of Sappho to Phaon, and two others by Dryden, Mr. Baynes thinks that these epistles have yet failed in meeting with an adequate English representation. Perhaps he may be nearly right in this opinion: but, when he quotes Dryden, and seems to agree with him in his observation that Ovid, in the Epistles, "has taken a most becoming care that his amorous expressions go no further than virtue may allow, and therefore may be read by matrons without a blush," we must record our dissent. Indeed, Mr. Baynes has himself furnished us with a complete refutation of this remark, in the work before us; where, although he has sought no opportunities of offending, he has been unable to avoid the faults of his author. The first epistle, or Sappho to Phaon, amply establishes the truth of this allegation; and, moreover, in the 'Argument,' and especially in the 'Notes,' the translator has stepped out of his way to introduce an improper allusion. As he is likely to have many occasions of transgressing in the same manner, during the execution of his work, we must beg to suggest to him that *Latin* quotations are an insufficient veil for indelicacy of subject; and that it is better to pass some matters in entire silence than even slightly to introduce them.

"This translation seems, on the whole, to be a faithful copy of the sense of the original, and often conveys that sense happily and even elegantly in English verse: but, as the author talks of finding in the success of the present work a criterion of his abilities for original composition, we are bound to exhort him to put out all his strength on the present undertaking, in order that the trial may be indeed a fair one; and such as that man ought to undergo, who is doubting as to the expediency of adopting the perilous duties of a poet. The facility of composing tolerable English rhymes, with a Latin poet to suggest ideas before us, certainly is very great; and we believe that it is an accomplishment which many more English gentlemen possess, than those who deem it worth their while to make the experiment. *Poetry*, however, is another and higher gift; and when a Latin author has already been presented in a passable English dress, although different tailors have been employed on different parts of his suit, it becomes a new workman to be very careful indeed how he executes his task. We are far from thinking that Mr. Baynes is deficient in many qualifications for the attempt: but we do not see, in the present specimens, any such decided proof of poetical genius as to make us sanguine on the subject. Let him, at all events, bestow more of the *limae labor* on his second volume, and not admit such careless or unsatisfactory lines as the subjoined:

‘The health I send, in kind return bestow,
Or, *you denying*, I can never know.’ *Paris to Helen*.

Mr. Baynes must *absolutely* resign the use of the *ablative absolute*, in English composition.

“Ibid.:— a very awkward inversion:—

‘But fierce as rising flames, *no less* desire
Itself betrays, than native light the fire.’

Again, in *Dido to Aeneas*:

‘Dido the cause, and sword which laid her low,
Aeneas *owed*, her own was but the blow.’

“This translation seems, on the whole, to be a faithful copy of the sense of the original, and often conveys that sense happily and even elegantly in English verse: but, as the author talks of finding in the success of the present work a criterion of his abilities for original composition, we are bound to exhort him to put out all his strength on the present undertaking, in order that the trial may be indeed a fair one; and such as that man ought to undergo, who is doubting as to the expediency of adopting the perilous duties of a poet. The facility of composing tolerable English rhymes, with a Latin poet to suggest ideas before us, certainly is very great; and we believe that it is an accomplishment which many more English gentlemen possess, than those who deem it worth their while to make the experiment. *Poetry*, however, is another and higher gift; and when a Latin author has already been presented in a passable English dress, although different tailors have been employed on different parts of his suit, it becomes a new workman to be very careful indeed how he executes his task. We are far from thinking that Mr. Baynes is deficient in many qualifications for the attempt: but we do not see, in the present specimens, any such decided proof of poetical genius as to make us sanguine on the subject. Let him, at all events, bestow more of the *limae labor* on his second volume, and not admit such careless or unsatisfactory lines as the subjoined:

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“*Ibid.*:— a very awkward inversion:—

‘But fierce as rising flames, *no less* desire
Itself betrays, than native light the fire.’

Again, in Dido to Aeneas:

‘Dido the cause, and sword which laid her low,
Aeneas *owed*, her own was but the blow.’

“We could add very largely to these instances of failure: but we shall rather select a more favourable example, and take leave of the author for the present.

‘From human lineage, or from race divine,
 Could never spring a heart so hard as thine;
 But rocks or seas thy ruthless being gave,
 As stone unfeeling, treacherous as the wave.
 Oh! hadst thou seen me, conscious of thy flight,
 E’en thou hast melted at so sad a sight.
 Yet what thou canst, in fancy view me now,
 Distracted, hanging o’er a mountain’s brow;
 Around whose heights the freezing tempests blow,
 The foaming billows lash its base below;
 My tresses floating to the breeze behold;
 And members shiv’ring at th’ unwonted cold;
 Uneven lines my trembling fingers trace,
 And falling tears th’ unfinish’d words efface.

‘Nor by my hated merits do I plead,
 Nor claim I now thy kindness as my mead;
 But if no safety to my cares be due,
 For this, alas! deserve I death from you?
 Where last my straining eyes thy bark could see,
 I stretch my wearied arms as if to thee;
 As if to thee, my beaten breasts I bare,
 As if to thee my streaming tresses tear.
 By all the floods of tears your treachery draws,
 By all the pangs, by all the fears you cause,
 By honour, justice, piety, and love,
 By every name below, or pow’r above —
 Change with the changing winds, replough the main,
 And visit these detested shores again;
 E’en if before be quench’d the vital flame,
 And the tir’d soul have left the harass’d frame,
 Yet may’st thou still the last sad office pay,
 And bear at least my poor remains away.’

Ariadne to Theseus

This is very well; with the exception of '*my beaten breasts I bare*,' and some other minor imperfections."

2. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 88 (September 1818) pp. 240-241.

"This 'first appeal to the indulgence of the publick' is inscribed to Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart.: 'the depth of whose erudition, the patience of whose research, and the variety of whose genius, have adorned more than one branch of Literature:' and is 'offered as a slight, but unaffected tribute, to that happy combination of virtue and talent by which he is so eminently and honourably distinguished.'

"Mr. Baynes is of opinion, that

'Translation may be considered as a fair stepping-stone to a writer dubious of his powers; if he succeed, he has already breathed himself on the arena, in which he may then hope, with some prospect of victory, to tread as a combatant. If he prove deficient in the poetical qualifications necessary to execute a translation reputably, a good original production is an effort of which his talents are incapable.'

"And he observes, that the motives for the present attempt were,

'A partiality for the Author, and the recollection that the version we have now is by almost as many hands as Epistles, and that, with the exception of Sappho to Phaon, by Pope, and, I think, two others by Dryden, it is in general destitute of the spirit, and, in many instances, even of the sense of the original. Such is the fact: yet I cannot hope that the ill execution of others, however it may have incited me to the attempt, will excuse my failure; if I merit severity from the critical scourge, I shall doubtless experience it. With diffidence, but not without hope, I offer these seven Epistles to the world: if not the first essay of my pen, they are its first appeal to the ordeal of public opinion. I propose to complete the whole twenty-one in twelve months from the present time.'

"A few lines from the Epistle of Phaedra to Hippolytus will give a fair idea of Mr. Baynes's versification:

"Oh! leave to savage woods thy cold disdain—
 For lo! I perish if I sue in vain;
 Soon fails the strength, rash boy, which never knows
 Alternate respite, nor enjoys repose;
 Though thine Diana's skill, the bow, believe,
 If bent for ever, will at length deceive:
 Like thee, for whom Aurora sigh'd above,
 In woods delighted, but he scorn'd not love;
 Like me, by beauty won, the goddess fled,
 For blooming youth, her aged husband's bed;
 Oft shadowing oaks saw bright-ey'd Venus yield
 To glad Adonis, and their loves conceal'd;
 Unblest Oenides next, a hapless name,
 In forests woo'd the fair Maenalian dame;
 Hers was each prize which found his certain bow,
 And hers the fatal spoils which caus'd his woe.
 Thee, loveliest youth! let these examples move;
 The woods are deserts if depriv'd of love;
 With thee I'll roam the rugged mountains o'er,
 Fearless with thee pursue the savage boar."*

* [The original lines from this letter, *Phaedra to Hippolytus*, are numbered 89-108 on pp. 121-122 in EDB's publication, and both his version and that of the reviewer also include two footnotes, one on Phaedra and her perversion of the story of Cephalus, the other on the loves of Venus and Adonis. The reviewer has made three minor corrections to the text as published: in the ninth line above, comma after me; bright-ey'd for bright-eyed, a very reasonable change since that is the spelling used by EDB in the heading for his note on this line; and desert for desart, the latter a form that EDB may have intended.]

3. In an advertisement for the Second Volume of EDB's translation of *Ovid's Epistles*, EDB quotes the following review of his First Volume by Mr. Capel Lofft.*

“Of all the translations I recollect to have seen of this enchanting poet, this specimen of Mr. Baynes appears to me to have most ease, fluency, sweetness, and graceful spirit. The Oenone, which is of the tenderest and purest simplicity in the original, is happily transferred into our language. Both in the Sappho and the Dido, lines abound of great excellence for their characteristic representation of the original, the charm of numbers, so infinitely important to the effect of poetry, the beauty of diction, natural and elegant, animated and tender. Mr. Baynes is evidently familiar with the best models, ancient and modern, and has a taste, a heart, and an ear, such as will qualify him to transfuse their excellence into his own language.”

* [Lord Byron, in a note to line 774 of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (“And CAPEL LOFFT declares ‘tis quite sublime”), described the patron thus: “Capel Lofft, Esq., the Maecenas of shoemakers, and Preface-writer-General to distressed versemen; a kind of gratis Accoucheur to those who wish to be delivered of rhyme, but do not know how to bring it forth.” In a letter to Bernard Barton on 1 June 1812, Byron clearly had not changed his mind when he wrote of Lofft’s “rage for patronizing.”]

Love and Laudanum; or The Sleeping Dose, a Farce in Two Acts

1. *The Theatrical Inquisitor, and Monthly Mirror*, vol. 12 (1818) pp. 142-143 and 272-276.

Under the title “Woolwich,” with the dateline Feb. 14. 1818 and the pseudonym “A Constant Reader,” the “correspondent” wrote four paragraphs on the “Theatrical season” that had “commenced here on the 29th of December, with some appearance of success” under the management of Mr. Henry. The first paragraph ended with the following reference to EDB’s play: “Several novelties have been got up in a creditable manner:— an entirely new Farce, entitled, ‘Love and Laudanum; or, The Old Bombardier,’ was produced for the first time on Friday, the 23rd of January, and continues to

attract crowded houses. It has considerable claims to originality, both in incident and character."

The second paragraph, which takes up more than half the report, contained a detailed "outline of the plot." A short third paragraph added a few critical notes.

"Fuze, an old Bombardier, was well supported by Chambers, and his ludicrous interpretations of *Furfanti's* Italian, was a continual source of laughter. Lynch evinced much talent in his conception of the conscientious scoundrel. Sim's *Gallipot* was a judicious piece of acting."

The "Literary Review" of this farce, which appeared in a later number (No. 69) of the same volume of *The Theatrical Inquisitor*, made clear at the outset that the reviewer's principal interest was the charge of plagiarism brought by EDB against the actor-author Mr. S. Penley.

"This farce, of which some account was given by a correspondent in this work, was played with considerable success at the Woolwich Theatre, and is now principally interesting as having formed the ground of a very serious charge of plagiarism. We will quote the author's own words in the preface, which is dated April 2d, 1818."

The reviewer went on to devote two and a half pages to an examination of EDB's charge and included in a footnote copies of a pair of letters exchanged by Penley and EDB on April 13 and 14, 1818, in the second of which EDB withdrew his charge. After noting that "species of literary fraud . . . are by no means uncommon amongst dramatic writers," the reviewer expressed his pleasure at the conclusion: "We are happy that the alledged offence has not been proved, and advise the appellant and the appellee to cement their reconciliation over a bottle of the real falernian juice."

This matter out of the way, the reviewer proceeded to a criticism of EDB's play, a set of opinions unlikely to have caused the author to have had any wish to drink with the critic.

"We now come to examine the literary pretensions of the farce before us, and of these we are sorry not to be able to speak very highly; the language is faulty; it constantly aims at the comic and commonly fails in its attempt. There are occasional traits of humour, but they are thinly scattered over pages of common place. The bad English of Furfanti, and the misinterpretations of the other characters are overstrained and improbable, the sophistry of Scruple, is not natural, nor can we imagine any thing less farsical than the truisms of Gallipot. We select a scene indiscriminately of Scruple, the lover's valet, who has obtained admission to the doctor's house as a patient, has been forced to swallow a dose of nauseous medicine, by Gallipot, Fuze, the doctor's servant, comes in with a message, which is a hoax, played off by the lover, in order to get Gallipot out of the way."

The reviewer then reproduced, complete with stage directions, the scene in which Scruple unknowingly drank "the narcotic which was sent up from the surgery," pages 23-26 (top half) in the printed text. But this was not the end of his criticism.

"In conclusion, however, it is but fair to state, that our attention has been turned to this production under very disadvantageous circumstances. We have never seen it supported by the talent of comic actors, who have frequently continued to infuse humour into pieces much more susceptible of it than the farce of Love and Laudanum."

Childe Harold in the Shades. An Infernal Romaunt

1. *The British Critic*, vol. 11 (January 1819) pp. 83-87.

"Our readers may, perhaps, have heard of a celebrated French writer, who being asked "how he liked poetry?" replied: "next to prose." It is so long since we have had a poetical article in our table of contents, that it will, perhaps, be suspected that we are beginning to be of the same opinion. But this apparent neglect has not arisen, we conceive, from any fault of our's. We have now lying upon our table some half dozen poems upon various subjects, which we have been reading over, with a view to see if any among them could furnish us with the means of treating our readers with some little

variety, in the way which we are now speaking of; but we have looked in vain for any that we could recommend; the best among them, as it appeared to us, was the little poem which we have chosen as the subject of this article; but even this comparative kind of praise, is more expressive of the demerits of its competitors than of any claim which itself possesses. It is written in the Spenserian stanza, and consists of two cantos, containing between them about 130 stanzas. The scene of it is supposed to be in the "shades;" and it is called "Childe Harold in the Shades," principally because it is Lord Byron who prologizeth, although, for any thing his Lordship is made to say, the task might, with equal propriety, have been delegated to any other speaker. The poem opens with a declaration, on the part of the noble prolocutor, of the contempt which he still continues to entertain for his readers, and of the constancy with which, he still perseveres in being as miserable as it is possible to be. He then relates the punishments reserved below for bad poets, dandies, witlings, hypocrites, and fools; after which he is seized by the furies and carried away to the judgment-seat of Pluto. This is the subject of the first canto. In the second, we are told of the wonders which he witnessed on the road to Pluto's tribunal; of her innumerable worshippers; and lastly, of the contest among them for the honour of being decorated with her badges —the fool's cap and rattle.

"The first canto contains several very tolerable verses, but, with the exception of two or three which we shall afterwards quote, the last canto is a tissue of childish impertinences. The absurd disrespect with which the author speaks of several writers, whose works, it is evident, he either never read, or is not able to appreciate, would be intolerable, were the shafts of his satire pointed with any thing like wit or discrimination; as it is, this part of the poem is simply dull and nonsensical.

"We shall now extract from those which we marked as possessing some of that comparative kind of merit before alluded to.

"The following verses have some merit, though interspersed with many weak lines.

Of these was Harold one; to him, indeed,
 Had nature given much, and fortune more;
 But in his brain he nurs'd a deadly weed
 Of his own planting; the name the rank growth bore
 Was Vanity, which ever sigh'd for more
 Than just desert could claim: but, Harold, this
 Not rais'd thee higher up, but sunk thee lower;
 This made a curse where Heaven design'd to bless;
 Thou wouldst be more than man, and this has prov'd thee less.

XI

Oh, let him, Heav'n ! who in prosperity
 Forges the venom-pointed shaft, to sting
 His proper breast, feel real adversity,
 And know how chill her hand, how dark her wing !
 The wretch thou yonder view'st like thee could sing,
 Though his, like thine, fictitious woes were not,
 But all that dire reality could bring;
 Nurtur'd in sorrow, and in crime begot,
 SAVAGE may teach thee, peer, how sad of some the lot.

XII

Lo, too, in sight, the youth of Severn's side !
 His name who knows not? in yon dusky vale
 Stalks lonely; striving, but in vain, to hide
 His woes in darkness, whilst he tells the gale
 That whistles round a melancholy tale:
 Him Hope refused her ever-cheering face;
 On frenzy's tide was rent his shatter'd sail:
 What wonder then, on life's disgusting race,
 If, recreant in the course, he sickening stopp'd his pace.

XIII

Lord of some talent, and in these dull days,
 When not to wholly fail is to succeed,
 Th' awaking Muse with ~~no~~ ignoble bays,

Harold, hath deck'd thy brow; Parnassian meed
 Not undeserved ! But of that master breed
 Thou wouldst be thought, those souls who sway mankind:
 Not thine, in sooth, nor sprung from such a seed;
 But where caprice or passion lent the wind,
 Veered round to every point that weathercock thy mind.

“The character given of Dr. Johnson’s peculiar cast of genius, though not marked by any new touches, is, we think creditable to our author.

XLIV

Unmanner'd, self-will'd, stubborn, stern, austere,
 Pedantic, solemn, prejudic'd and proud;
 In knowledge a deep fount, profound, yet clear;
 In wit the flame which cleaves the summer cloud;
 In argument a torrent fierce and loud,
 O'erbearing opposition; a philosopher,
 Yet credulous as childhood, though endow'd
 with might from error's face the mask to tear:
 An elephant when wrath, when pleas'd a dancing bear.

XLV

Of kind affections, but in act uncouth;
 Not brooking contradiction in the fray
 Of tongues, and seeking victory more than truth;
 Blind to his own defects, life's transient day,
 Like mastiff o'er his bone, he growl'd away;
 Too apt to wield a club, he often smote
 Some teasing fly which buzz'd around in play;
 And such too oft his style (himself I quote),
 A tea-pot in a storm, sound signifying nought.

“Our readers will hardly, we dare say, recognize in the allusion contained in the last verse, Johnson’s humorous burst of impatience, at being told, as an alarming piece of news, that the Isle of Man was in a state of rebellion, “Pshaw!” replied he, “a tempest in a slop basin.”*

“One more extract and we shall shut the poem. Among the worshippers of Folly are not only some of the principal Poets of the day, (according to our author,) but likewise all the Dandies; and we do not think our author’s readers will dispute the truth of this last part of his allegory. Why poets and dandies should be classed together and made to contend for the same identical prizes, is perhaps less incontestably proper; but, however, we may take these matters as the poet pleases to arrange them; the following lines [from Canto II] are extremely good.

LII

And first before the throne preferr’d his claim,
 On earth the leader of a numerous host,
 And first of fashion’s votaries, P—T—RS—M,
 Once Almack’s glory, once Saint James’s boast,
 But now no more a dandy, but a ghost:
 Tailors, in life, beheld him with surprise,
 And griev’d such genius on a peer was lost;
 Our Hobies saw him with admiring eyes,
 And those who made his breeches thought him wond’rous wise.

LIII

“Oh queen” he said, “if e’er I bow’d to sense,
 If e’er by chance incurr’d the guilt of thought,
 If e’er to reason made the least pretence,
 Or e’er in vain attempts at wit was caught,
 Or e’er not spent my time in doing nought,
 Or if I still the slightest vestige know
 Of all the priest, and all the master taught,
 If e’en my bitterest enemy can show
 One useful act on earth, then I the prize forego.

LIV

But if I ne’er in search of knowledge spent
 A single hour, nor thought her features fair,
 And if I never knew what wisdom meant,
 If food and dress were each in turn my care,

And if I never knew what wisdom meant,
 If food and dress were each in turn my care,
 And life's whole business what to eat and wear,
 If ignorance be grateful in thine eyes,
 If harmless dandies thy protection share,
 Or brainless impudence deserve the prize,
 Goddess, with me, with me, the glorious trophy lies !”

LV

So said this empty thing; the dandy band
 Receiv'd his speech as 'twere a compliment
 To all the race, but chief his cheering hand
 His brother peer, illustrious W—CES—R, lent;
 With loud applause the dusky air he rent,
 And clapp'd amain, and hoarsely bawl'd for more.
 Disinterested W—CES—R, be content:
 When late you kindly op'd your Thespian store,
 What fool, who saw thee then, will ever cry encore?

“It was our original intention to have quoted some stanzas in the way of reprehension, on account of the sentiments contained in them; and others we had noted for sins against good taste; but we are inclined to believe, judging entirely from internal evidence, that the author is an extremely young man; and as we have noticed no particular faults in the poem, except such as years and experience are likely to correct, we shall leave the task in our author's own hands.” [In 1819 EDB was approaching thirty years of age.]

* [The reader will in fact have no trouble if he turns to the note supplied to stanza XLV by the author, wherein he will find exactly the same words reported of Johnson as are supplied by the reviewer.]

2. *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres*, 30 January 1819, pp. 66-67.

“This is a sort of satirical paraphrase of Lord Byron, with strictures upon that noble writer, not of the most flattering kind; and also *assaults* (d'esprit only, we trust) upon most of the esteemed and some of the

disesteemed authors of the present time. The work is anonymous, but scandal assigns it to Mr. Peacock, the Bard of Rhododaphne.*

“Just censure is as important to the arts and to literature as liberal encouragement. The latter cherishes, often indiscriminately, the fruit-bearing stems, the flowers, and the weeds; and unless these creepers and climbers were hoed up by the skillful hands of taste and judgement, they would entirely, as they now do too largely, choke the growth of the useful and beauteous plants. Satire, indeed, is perhaps the last mode of eradicating the evil to which one would chuse to resort; like burning the soil, it destroys not only what is noxious, but all the infant germs and blossomings which might in due season delight the sense and merit culture.

“Whether this author has addressed himself to the extirpation of rank fertility merely, or has committed blind havock; whether he has tried to prune, or has cut down; whether he has cleared the ground, or only spread ‘muck’ over it, we shall not decide. Like most people, we suppose, he will be found partly wrong and partly right: our readers may form their opinions from a few passages.

“The poem imagines Childe Harold and a Pilgrim in the lower regions, and describes the continuance of the earthly morbid disposition of the former as affected by the sights and incidents of the infernal world. The Furies are thus drawn:—

“But lo, the Furies! dames who keep uncut
 Their nails, to scratch the faces of dead sinners,
 Long as the talons of she-tigers, but
 Sharper far, with which their hellish dinners
 From charnel-house they tear—huge buttock’d Mynheers,
 Spruce Frenchman, meagre Spaniard, fat John Bull—
 Male, female, young, or middle-ag’d, or in years—
 All one to them ! from out their graves they pull
 And gorge their craving maws, e’en to repletion full.

Their eyes are burning coals, and huge pitchforks
 Their teeth; their tongues sharp flames, going, Oh Lord!
 Like mortal woman's; swearing, too, like Turks:
 Their hair (I tell no lies, upon my word)
 Snakes of all kinds and lengths; you never heard
 Such hissing as they make; instead of snout,
 These nymphs have toads; and, when to rage bestirr'd,
 The viper-race their forked tongues put out,
 They twine the pseudo-nose in wanton curls about.

[Canto I, Stanzas VI-VII]

"This is a fair specimen of the humour and versification of the poem; the former pretty well,—the latter not very fluent nor musical. Such companions as these amiable ladies are, the writer assigns them to the Childe as to Orestes of old, taunts him with forging an ideal venomed shaft while wallowing in prosperity, and invokes him to view the dire reality of woe in Savage and other unfortunate men of genius. He seems to estimate his talents, too, lower than the public has done; and in our opinion depreciates them, though Beppo certainly dissolved the grand spell, and told how much was art and how little intense genuine feeling.

"Lord of some talent, and in these dull days,
 When not to wholly fail is to succeed,
 Th' awaking Muse with no ignoble bays,
 Harold, hath deck'd thy brow; Parnassian meed
 Not undeserved! But of that master breed
 Thou wouldst be thought, those souls who sway mankind:
 Not thine, in sooth, nor sprung from such a seed;
 But where caprice or passion lent the wind,
 Veered round to every point that weathercock thy mind.

Now cursing, now forgiving, loving, hating,
 Each in their turn, and all with equal cause;
 Writhing in torments of thine own creating:
 Man, frailest man, yet man and human laws
 Highly (in Fancy's scale) above,—applause
 Affecting to despise, yet scribbling on,

The same fond fool of Fame————

[Canto I, Stanzas XIII-XIV]

“If our popular favourite is thus cavalierly treated, it cannot be expected that the other poets of the day, whose Shades he encounters in the Under World, are mentioned with more respect. The universal Muse is declared to be venal, and several of our chief bards designated as literary prostitutes. Then follow, the “Bastards:”—

“Makers of fragments, tales, romances, odes,
Of serious farce and merry tragedies,
Staunch friends of stationers, consuming loads
Of paper, ink, and pens; of comedies,
Songs, epicediums, riddles, monodies;
Of epigrams and epitaphs inditers;
Of literature the very carrion flies,
Whose works speak talent as religion mitres;
Pen-drivers, ink-consumers, any thing but writers.

[Canto I, Stanza XXIV]

“The punishment of these, below, is to be obliged to hear their own verses read by each other.

“— — — — — fit symphony
For devils’ ears ! Hell to its centre rung.
Dull W—DS—TH read, and curs’d most cordially,
Of dull F—ZG—LD the dull loyalty;
W—DS—TH himself of B—RG—S was the spell;
And C—LE—GE rent the air with Rimini;
To SH—L’S disastrous lot huge Samor fell;
And H—NT, superlatively damn’d, read Christabel.

[Canto I, Stanza XXVII]

“The next groupings are the Dandies; but we are too tired and sick of these insects here, to follow them there. Gourmands, betrayers of their

country, gemmen of the *Fancy*, and other personages, successively appear; and the author verges to the close of his first Canto, by pouring out, as we think most unjustly, the most bitter accusations upon the head of Lord Elgin.

"We shall more briefly dismiss the second part. It is an imitation of the *Dunciad*, and narrates a contention for the Cap and Bells of Folly—the first being adjudged to the noble Lord we have just named, and the last to the author of *Rimini*. The Throne of the Goddess

"— — — — — was rear'd
Of books yfram'd, V—L—N—A was the base;
C—R'S lighter quartos lay the next in place;
C—TT—LE the rear, and W—DS—TH form'd the front;
The sides much R—SE, and more of G—DW—N grace,
Of the imperial stern, that part the brunt
Which bore, grew spiral then, and dwindl'd into H—NT.
[Canto II, Stanza XVIII]

"But we have shown what the nature of this production is, and shall not occupy our pages further than to say, that those who like such reading as is personal and borders on the reverse of kindness, will find it in this publication. Altogether it is not a gem of the first water; and, if we acknowledge its being cleverly done, neither merits our admiration for the mind it displays, nor for the perfection of its verse. Such lines as the following are nothing like poetry:

"An image: whilst still the dial plate.

"Farewell! to nerve the soul, here, weak."#

* This mistaken attribution to Thomas Love Peacock, despite that author's remarkable ability to parody Lord Byron as displayed in the novel *Nightmare Abbey*, published in 1818, was put right a week later in the same journal (*The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres*, 6 February 1819, p. 87) by the anonymous author himself:

"Sir,

"I confidently rely on your justice for the insertion of the following short observations on your critique of last Saturday on "Childe Harold in the Shades." Whether you have done justice to the poem, the public can and will decide: that the author should think the contrary will not be astonishing to any one who may peruse the review.

"I have to observe that you [...] have erroneously assigned the work to Mr. Peacock, who is in nowise connected with or known to the writer of the poem in question.

"You mistake the passage you alluded to, when you assert that "several of our chief bards are designated as "literary prostitutes;" on reference to the page, you will perceive that *one*, and only *one*, is so instanced.

"When you reprove the want of fluency in the versification, you do not seem to recollect that many passages in the poem are devoted to a satirical imitation of the style and manner of the Childe's terrestrial pilgrimage. Are the following lines from the 4th Canto more harmonious?

"Angelo's, Alfieri's bones, and his."	[LIV.7]
"Even in itself an immortality."	[LIV.3]
"That gird the gulf, around in pitiless horror set."	[LXIX.9]
"When but some false mirage of ruin rises near."	[LXXXI.9]
"Unchangeable, save to thy wild waves play."	[CLXXX.7]

"The Author of "Childe Harold in the Shades.""

[The first of these isolated lines is quoted from stanza XLVIII, the second from LVII, both from Canto I. In both cases there is no stop at the end of the line, and both lines gain from being read in context. All the quotations contain a number of trivial errors in their reproduction in this journal.]

"This is a very clever and amusing work, though we confess we but little expected to find it such, upon perusing the title-page. The vile attempts at imitating the style of Lord Byron, which have appeared in so many forms, immediately recurred to our recollection; and we doubted not that we had here stumbled upon another of them. We were, however, pleasantly surprised, by finding it the production of a man of talent, whose humour we delight in, though we cannot always admit the justice of his satire. It is a kind of modern "Dunciad," written in the Spenserian stanza, upon the plan of "Childe Harold," *i.e.* with no plan at all; being little more than the poet's sentiments upon various matters, strung together by a very slight thread of story. The reflections are supposed to proceed chiefly from Lord Byron in the regions below; and the style in which the work is written will be shewn by quoting the opening stanzas; premising that *our* estimate of Lord B.'s character, both as a man and a poet, is at least fifty degrees higher than that of the present author:—

Reader, I told thee late that it was fit
 The spell should break of my protracted dream;
 My song had ceas'd; and what was writ, was writ.
 If then, perchance, there are to whom may seem
 Strange, and unmeet, renewal of a theme
 So late relinquish'd—know, in sooth, I scorn
 To fetter my free thoughts, and lightly deem
 Of man and man's opinion—I was born
 To bear his jeers unmov'd, as if my heart were horn.

But change of time and place can change the mind;
 and self's a subject cordial to the soul;
 And threats, like promises, are empty wind;
 And Pegasus a steed which scorns control,
 Whose headlong speed pursues a flying goal
 Which flits before him: lapsing ages view
 Few souls like mine, as in their course they roll.
 Shall, then, the laws which sway earth's common crew
 Genius and rank restrain—a peer and poet too?

Their eyes are burning coals, and huge pitchforks
 Their teeth; their tongues sharp flames, going, Oh Lord !
 Like mortal woman's; swearing, too, like Turks:
 Their hair (I tell no lies, upon my word)
 Snakes of all kinds and lengths; you never heard
 Such hissing as they make; instead of snout,
 These nymphs have toads; and when, to rage bestirr'd,
 the viper-race their forked tongues put out,
 They twine the pseudo-nose in wanton curls about.

[Canto I, Stanzas VII-VIII]

“Some of our principal bards now pass in review before him, and are succeeded by others of more ignoble fame. We quote the stanza in which the latter are enumerated; though we are disgusted at seeing the name of Wordsworth brought in to “honour such corruption;” a want of taste which occurs several times in the cour[s]e of the poem:—

Such names as these—for, from among the mass,
We'll take a few which hitch into our rhyme;
Those prowlers in the purlieus of Parnass.
Despite of falling still who strive to climb
Bedaub'd at every fall with dirtier slime:
W—DS—TH, whose pen damnation can not blunt;
C—LE—GE, who sleeping writes to save his time;
F—ZG—LD, B—RG—S, KE—TS, press forward to the
front,
With, emptier yet than these, that egotist L—GH H—NT
[Canto I, Stanza XXV]

[Canto I, Stanza XXV]

“The punishment which we are assured is inflicted upon these witlings, is the most intolerable ever yet conceived by the mind of man. It is nothing less than being compelled eternally to read the works of one another. After a few severe lashes bestowed upon them, the bard is seized by the Furies, and hurried towards the judgement-seat of Pluto. The wonders he beholds on his journey are depicted with exquisite humour, but we cannot afford room for specimens sufficient to do justice to this part of the work. To all who interest themselves about the scribbling phalanxes of the day it must prove highly

interesting; and we beg to recommend it to them as a production well deserving a perusal. Some notes are subjoined, written in a very pleasant and sprightly vein."

4. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 89 (April 1819) pp. 336-337.

"Of this severe satire some judgment may be formed from the following extract of its "Argument"

"The noble shade commenceth his recital of the Childe's infernal Pilgrimage, by informing his readers how little he regardeth them or their opinions. He affirmeth that his mind continueth a prey to the same morbid dispositions as in life. He proceedeth to describe the various scenes he hath beheld in the lower regions, and beginneth by depicting the Furies. He then digresseth, and giveth the reader an impartial character of his companion, the Pilgrim. He returneth to his subject, and relateth that he met, first, the shades of those bards who in these degenerate days have discovered some claim to praise, and then of those whom infernal justice hath for their bad verses condemned to a suitable punishment. Among the latter he noteth his friends H—nt and C—le—ge. He seeth the pains inflicted on the race ycleped Dandies, as also on gluttons, and on those who have betrayed the liberties of their country. He foretelleth the approaching liberation of the victims of the latter. He beholdeth the condition after death of hypocrites, false friends, venal criticks, and others. He also vieweth the shades of Dr. Johnson and Dan Chaucer.

"Here we should stop to transcribe the Poet's caricature resemblance of the great moralist; but, however just some parts of the character may be, it is on the whole too rudely drawn.

"The father of English Poetry is more kindly treated:

"In antique vest array'd stands CHAUCER there,
Telling quaint stories to a listening throng;
Maid, widow, wife, old, young, ill-favour'd, fair

Cruel and yielding, in his motley song
 Together flowed: unpolish'd, rough, but strong,
 And full of fire the merry notes he us'd;
 Rightly to him our earliest bays belong.
 Though much by modern copyists abus'd,
 Who imitate the faults the age in him excus'd.

[Canto I, Stanza XLVI]

"The modern Poets are under no great obligation to this Author for the concise delineation of their character, For example

"Came S—TH—Y first: none better knows than he
 The power of gold; 'twas offer'd, and behold
 The furious democrat wrote loyally.
 SC—TT follows next, too hastily enroll'd
 By changeling praise with him, the bard of old,
 Who sung of knights and ladies, love and war;
 Slow C—BBE, and modest C—MP—LL next unfold
 To view the opening ranks; and brighter far,
 If chaster were his lay, Hibernia's evening star.

[Canto I, Stanza XIX]

"Should any doubt arise as to the demise of the luminaries mentioned in this stanza, it is to be understood that the Author has killed them by poetical license, a privilege of which he intends to avail himself when and where he pleases."

[Canto I, Stanza XIX, Note 7]

"An insignificant race of modern Fribbles is thus very humourously described:

"To eat, to drink, to sleep, to wake, to rise,
 Daily, oh Bond-street! on thy paved way
 (When unforbid by duns or threat'ning skies)
 To shine; to talk, but not to think; to play,
 To dance, to run in debt—but not to pay;

And more than all to dress—to curl the hair—
 Arrange the neck with skill—the tighten'd stay
 To lace to form: most sapient race ! these were
 The fruits of an existence, life's important care !"
 [Canto I, Stanza XXXI]

Pastorals. Ruggiero. With Other Poems

1. *La Belle Assemblée*, vol. 19 (May 1819) pp. 227-228.

"The Pastorals in this collection are a very juvenile production of the author, having been written at the early age of sixteen; and they are blossoms which gave fair promise of rich fruit, which has since been amply exemplified in the more mature work of Mr. Baynes. We find them very much resembling those of Mr. Pope, whom this youthful favourite of Parnassus seemed to have taken as his model. *Ruggiero* is a poem of a far different kind, wearing every feature of originality, much poetic, and interesting narrative ease: from this we have drawn those extracts which we now lay before our readers.

THE LAVAS OF MOUNT ETNA, &c.

"The moon is risen; her crescent light
 Gleams pale on Mongibello's height,
 The awful darkness denser shed
 Below is lessen'd, but not fled;
 And indistinctly through the gloom
 Is seen to raise its horrid head,
 Sad Naxos' everlasting tomb!
 Deep buried in whose iron bed,
 Walls, streets, and palaces are laid.
 Th' eternal lavas from decay
 Preserve the ruins which they made;
 There, since the deluge o'er them swept,
 Those relics have for ages slept,
 There yet remain, and there shall stay

And stern his accent of command;
 But oh! he had another tone,
 When lovely women nigh.
 Nor were the gifts of lavish heav'n
 To form alone profusely giv'n;
 Nor could extrinsic merits blind,
 Nor pride so vain, so frail, control
 The nobler splendours of the mind;

Nor could Ruggiero's fiery soul
 In such slight fetters be confined.
 His was of that fastidious frame
 Which not with ease is bent,
 But kindling once, the mountain flame
 Through life burns onwards to its aim,
 To love's tempestuous flame;
 But, oh! once fix'd, nor fate nor chance
 Could pluck the dart again:
 So on Sumatra's spicy plain,
 If once the rushing steel invades
 Some monarch of those iron shades,
 With force to pierce its stubborn grain,
 The barbed shaft for ever will remain."

2. *The Monthly Review*, vol. 90 (September-December 1819) pp. 209-211.

"We think it is enough to state the author's own confession that the *Pastorals* here published were written before his 16th year;— or, at all events, to quote, in illustration of that confession, the following lines:

'The Zemblan freezes in eternal snows,
 With scorching heat the panting Indian glows;
 Our happier climes no dire extremes molest,
 With milder summers, gentler winters blest;
 Yet these I'll quit, if Amaryllis please,
 To burn in India, or in Zembla freeze.'

This tame versification of Guthrie, this pastoral misuse of Virgil, we *had* thought was exploded among us:— but, it seems,

—— “*tenet insanabile multos
Scribendi cacoëthes, et ægro in corde senescit;*”

juvenile as their productions may seem to be!*

“With regard to *Ruggiero*, we beg leave to quote a passage, as amply sufficient to sicken the strongest appetite of even a modern devourer of versification:

‘Ætna, though now no gazing eye
Can trace thy varied scenery,
But fertile plain, and scorch’d ravine,
With ashes black, or verdure green,
The same dull aspect show;
When day shines on thee, can there be
A truer type of heav’n than thee?
Image of many a differing clime,
Sweet mountain! where we see
The torrid and the frigid zone,
With the sweet medium of thy own,
And all that’s pleasing or sublime,
Mix’d in romantic harmony.’

Poor Walter Scott! to what a series of imbecility hast thou given birth!

“We conclude our examination of this work with a prose extract; which we conceive to be quite as *poetical* as any thing else in the pamphlet, and rather more entertaining:

‘The author was present at the great eruption of Ætna which took place in November, 1811. The ashes, which fell in showers at Messina, sixty miles distant from the mountain, gave the first intimation of the event, and induced him to start immediately with a friend, for the scene of one of the sublimest and

most magnificent spectacles in nature. Arriving about two o'clock in the afternoon at the small town of Giarri, leaving their horses, and providing themselves with mules and guides, they ascended the mountain towards the spot where the volcanic matter had burst forth, and was then raging with extraordinary fury; the earth trembling every instant with the most violent concussion, whilst the awful roaring and repeated explosions, incident to the eruption, seemed to threaten the destruction of the ground on which they trod. After scrambling for three hours over the ridges of perpendicular precipices, and up the dry beds of torrents, an exclamation from the guide arrested their attention, and informed them that they were arrived at the foot of the stream of lava, which at that time had overspread the country to the extent of three miles in length from its source, and one in breadth: the lava appeared a gigantic mound of moving cinders, proceeding in an equal, slow, and majestic progression. It was yet daylight, and, in consequence, the lava was black in appearance: the fire was only discovered by the detachment of large masses from the upper part of this mountain of ignited matter, owing to the constant impulsion from behind. Leaving their mules in the valley, they with difficulty ascended a height (probably rendered accessible only by the ashes, in which they sunk knee deep) which directly overlooked, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, the site of the eruption, which, it is to be observed, always forms a mountain of the ashes and other matter which it discharges, the lava boiling up and issuing from a crater at the top. (When ascending *Ætna* in 1812, the author found this newly-created mountain to be a quarter of a mile in perpendicular height, and not less than a mile in circumference.) It was now dark, and the scenery had assumed a continuous and enormous river of liquid flame, sometimes pouring irresistibly forward in a direct line, at others rushing down heights with the violence of a torrent; and a little further, perhaps, gently meandering, according to the sinuosities of the vales into which it had found its way. Although this eruption had taken place in the lower region, yet the spectacle of forests in flames was not wanting to complete the terrific grandeur of the scene. The olive-groves and vineyards, wherever they lay in the course of the lava, were instantly involved in a blaze. On the side of the eruption a different sight presented itself; there the lava boiling over the crater, ran down the sides of the mountain of ashes with the rapidity of water, whilst huge masses of rock, and other ignited substances, hurled into the air to an inconceivable height, came thundering down again in rapid succession, having the appearance of a vast fountain of fire. Behind rose into the clouds

the summits of *Ætna*, already clothed in snow discovering plainly that the travellers had not surmounted a sixth of its majestic height. On returning at length to the spot where they had quitted their animals, and preparing to take their supper at the foot of the lava for the benefit of the heat, the author and his companion were obliged to decamp with precipitation: the brushwood in the vicinity had taken fire; and so near were they being surrounded in consequence, that it is probable a very few minutes would have numbered them among the Many victims of this implacable mountain.'

"Perhaps, however, the author will excuse us if we revoke our decision of *finale*, and just present our readers with a few "more of his last words," in the shape of the following amiable little stanza, from '*the Departure*.'

'*She*.

' Stay, O stay, my cruel love!
Oh! whither art thou going?
'Tis *most unkind so soon to rove*,
Ah! think on my undoing.'

"We apprehend that this may suffice, and will omit the reply of '*He*,' although it is very appropriate."#

* [The Latin quotation is from Juvenal, *Satire* 7, lines 51-52, thus giving point, if not wit, to the reviewer's choice of word. Peter Green has happily translated these lines thus:

... you can't get out, you're hooked
By writer's itch; the craving for bookish renown
Becomes a sick obsession.]

[The critic has misquoted the first line of this stanza—it should read "STAY, oh! stay, my cruel love!"—, and has added—for what purpose? to signal the Byronic resonance?—the italics in the third line. As for the appropriate reply, this is what '*He*' answered:

"Oh! dry those tears, my charming lass,

I cannot longer stay;
 With grief I view thy alter'd face;
 But I am forced away."]

Annals of England, A Poem, in Four Books

1. *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, vol. 80 (June 1847) p. 252.

"Mr. E. D. Baynes has sent forth the first four parts of the *Annals of England* in sonorous pentameters, dedicated to Her Most Gracious Majesty as a feeler with respect to the continuation and completion of the work. It is not the first attempt of the kind, and as far as we are able to judge, fails more from the positive impossibility of treating such subjects poetically, as for example:

"With other such, 'tis therefore my intention
 To pass them by, and make no further mention;"

or,

"From Sandwich sailing north, th' instructed fleet
 Returning south, th' expected tour complete,"

than from actual want of ability."*

* [Both quotations are drawn from Book I. The first (p.3) makes clear the author's decision to "leave in monkish chronicles to sleep . . . mythic chiefs . . . kings dramatic, and Lud and Bladud somewhat problematic." The second (p. 15) describes the circumnavigation of Britain by the Roman governor Agricola in A. D. 88.]

APPENDIX 6

TEXT OF LETTER FROM EDB TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE VALUE OF THE OFFICE
OF PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL OF DOMINICA

Dominica 10th June 1841

My Lord/

I have the honour, with reference to my communication of the 28th of December last, dated from Spanish Town Jamaica, on the subject of the great inferiority in value of the office of Provost Marshal General of this island to its emoluments as they were estimated by your Lordship, when the appointment was by order of your Lordship offered to me by Sir Charles Metcalfe, to state that on my arrival in Dominica, I have found the information contained in the letters there forwarded by me, fully borne out by the circumstances of the case.

By accompanying document No 1 your Lordship will perceive that the value of the office is set down as follows;

	£
Fixed Salary.	160
Amount of fees in 1838	417
Salary for Superintendence of treadmill	160
Total	<u>737</u>

subject only to a deduction of the expenses contingent on the management of the treadmill, which I have ascertained to have been £ 24stg leaving the computed value of the office £ 713.

By permission of His Excellency I have referred to the blue book for the last year, and find with regard to the 1st item, that of the fixed salary, which is that attached to the office of Messenger of Council, for which an island commission is actually held by another person though superceded I believe by mine, that the salary is not £ 160 as stated, but only £ 60 stg. In the 2nd item that of the fees, I find that they amounted to £ 442 for the year 1840; from which I was surprized to learn, and which fact was not within your Lordship's knowledge, that the following deductions have to be made;

Salary of assistant or 1st Clerk	£	stg	s	d
in the office	100	0	0	
Do of 2nd Clerk	18	16	4	
Do Jailer	48	0	0	
Do of two Turnkeys	37	6	8	
Total	204	3	0	

leaving a balance on the 2nd item of £ 237 --17 only.

The 3rd item, that for the superintendence of the treadmill, has ceased to exist, altogether; so that the whole of the emoluments of the office at present stands thus;

	£
Fixed Salary.	60
Balance of fees	237--17
	£ s
Total value of the office	£297--17

Thus the appointment which I accepted on the entire conviction that its value amounted to £ 713 does not yield at most £ 297--17 or £ 416 less than its supposed value.

Should it be said that before accepting the office I should have made inquiries respecting its value, I must observe that I had at the time a full persuasion of the correctness of the estimate of the Colonial Office, but I, notwithstanding, as your Lordship will collect from the appended documents, Nos 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, being letters from Mr Higginson Secretary to His Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe, in reply

to different applications of mine for a reasonable delay, but without success, did all that prudence would suggest to obtain the requisite information.

Document No 1 dated the 8th June 1840 is the offer of the appointment.

No 2 of the 11th June, informs me that I must give a final answer as soon as I can make up my mind, as in the event of my refusal, the office is to be offered to another person.

No 3 of the 15th June, acquaints me "that in order to prevent delay that may afterwards occur, my acceptance of the office must be unconditional."

No 4 of the 17th June states that "the Governor does not consider himself at liberty to defer his answer to Lord John Russell's communication for so long a period as may elapse before I can hear from Dominica."

It is certainly not surpris[c]ing that under these circumstances, I should in full confidence of the average worth [?] of the office being about £ 700, have accepted an appointment offering me apparently a large increase of income, that of the difference between £ 700 and £ 450 the salary I then enjoyed as a stipendiary magistrate.

No 5 dated 30th of October directs me to proceed to Dominica at my earliest convenience.

No 6 of the 9th January 1841 limits my stay in Jamaica to the 1st May last.

I entreat your Lordship's attention to the fact that I should never have relinquished my office of stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica for that of Provost Marshal of Dominica, had I not been fully persuaded that the emoluments of the latter greatly exceeded that of the former, instead of falling short of their amount by a full third. I only accepted the appointment under the impression that it would afford me the means of educating my family in a manner befitting their birth and station, whilst so far from enabling me to effect so necessary an object, the income of the office is altogether insufficient for the decent maintainance of my family in this expensive country; though I have moreover been subjected to the heavy charge of removing so large a family to this colony, which with concomitant expenses has cost me £ 200 stg, or more than two thirds of a whole year's income of the office.

Under all these circumstances and more particularly the extraordinary disparity between the estimated and the real value of the appointment, not arising from any mistake or misconception of mine, and in consideration of the office having been offered to me as a recompense for the nature and extent of my services in support of Sir Lionel Smith's Government, especially in conducting, (vide Document No 7) with the full concurrence and approbation of Her Majesty's Government, the "West Indian" Newspaper by which I incurred a heavy pecuniary loss, I have entire confidence that your Lordship will repair the unfortunate error of which I am the victim, by nominating me to some office equalling, or not very greatly inferior in average value to the amount which I was led to expect when I accepted that of Provost Marshal General of Dominica.

I have the honor to be
my Lord
your Lordship's
most obedient and
most honourable Servant
Ed: Dacres Baynes

To The Right Honourable
Lord John Russell

APPENDIX 7

"CHARGES AGAINST ROBERT JAMES MACKINTOSH ESQUIRE,
GOVERNOR IN CHIEF OF THE LEEWARD ISLANDS"

Charge 1 For sedulously avoiding to seek information from me the officer administering the local government of the island of Montserrat, and inviting and relying in preference on the irresponsible statements of unofficial persons, sometimes not resident in the island, and comparatively unacquainted with its affairs; and for habitually receiving, acting without inquiry, and proceeding against public officers on false information and misrepresentations made to him by mischievous and designing persons for their own purposes.

Charge 2 For making vexatious, offensive and unfounded charges in his local official correspondence against public officers without affording the accused an opportunity of defence or reply, studiously concealing, when called upon to give up the authors of the false information, the names of the parties misleading him, and thus depriving the injured persons of redress or obliging them to take the unofficial course of addressing themselves directly to the Secretary of State, in which case the Rules and Regulations for the guidance of the Colonial Service expressly state that no notice will be taken of such communications.

Charge 3 For using in his local official correspondence, coarse, ungentlemanlike, and offensive language to myself and other public officers; and for being in the habit of indulging his angry and resentful feelings by the use of threats, in order to deter me from availing myself of the constitutional and official means in my power to defend myself and other public officers from charges which I knew to be unfounded, advanced by him.

Charge 4 For undignified conduct, unbecoming so high a functionary, and the representative of Her Majesty, in going about, when in Montserrat in 1850, from

place to place, and from house to house, for the unworthy purpose of inviting and instigating complaints against public officers.

Charge 5 For permitting in other islands under his government, to a greater extent, and more objectionable degree, practices and customs which he visited with reprehensions in Montserrat, and made a matter of complaint against myself to the Secretary of State.

Charge 6 For degrading the character of the public service by compelling me to place an unfit and unworthy person in the office of Provost Marshal, by directing me (on the refusal of Mr Burke to accept it) to bestow it either on Mr James Armstrong or Mr Patrick Burns, both being persons morally and utterly unfit and ineligible to hold any situation whatever under government; and against the appointment of either of whom, I forcibly, but respectfully remonstrated at the time, detailing the particulars of their conduct for years previously, up to the moment when Mr MacKintosh insisted on my selecting one of them for the vacant office: pending [?] even which brief correspondence Mr MacKintosh knew that they had both been convicted before the Magistrates; the former for defrauding the Port Office Revenue, the latter for attempting to smuggle, and an assault on the Collector of the Customs.

Charge 7 Prepossession and prejudice against myself and family, and against several public officers, by reason of the alliance by marriage of the latter with members of my family, expressed and displayed by Mr MacKintosh previously and subsequently to his assumption of the government.

Charge 8 For pertinaciously and vindictively making vexatious and false charges against myself to the Secretary of State, with the view of prejudicing and injuring me, for having occasionally conscientiously differed from him, in such instances, as his unfounded observations on the conduct of Justices Osborn and Hill; and on the propriety of the appointment of Mr Burns to the office of Provost Marshal; my respectful remonstrance with him on the uncourteous style in which he too often addressed me; and my formal protest against his injurious assertion that Mr Goodale the Treasurer of the island was my private banker.

Charge 9 For habitual disregard and disobedience of the Rules and Regulations

for the government of the Colonial Service, and neglect of the Royal instructions, and for finding fault with me for complying with the tenor of the latter.

Charge 10 For suppressing dispatches intended for, and which he was requested to forward for the information of the Secretary of State, such dispatches impugning his own conduct, and containing matter in disproof of charges brought, or information given by himself; thus corruptly availing himself of his position to obstruct the course of official communication and justice for his own ends, and depriving parties complaining of him, of redress for their grievances.

Charge 11 For conduct highly unbecoming the character of a public officer, a gentleman, and the representative of Her Majesty, in being guilty of evasion, prevarication, and I deeply lament to add wilful and deliberate untruth, with the design, and for the discreditable purpose of misrepresenting the conduct and proceedings of a public officer.

Charge 12 For general precipitation, partiality, oppression and unconstitutional conduct in his administration of the affairs of Montserrat, one of the islands under his government.

Edward Dacres Baynes
Late President admg the Govt of
Montserrat

September 14 — 1852

APPENDIX 4

AN ANNOTATED LIST OF EDB'S PUBLICATIONS

1. *Ovid's Epistles, translated into English Verse*, vol. 1, London: Printed for T. Hookham, jun., and Baldwin and Co., 1818.

In the dedication of this book to Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart., EDB described the translation as his "first appeal to the indulgence of the public" and dated the preface "February 7, 1818. The work must have been printed and distributed soon after, for the title is listed in the *Edinburgh Review* for the period February to June 1818, together with the information that the book's size is 8vo. The same information appears in R. Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica or A General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, vol. 1, *Authors*, Edinburgh 1824. One should probably assume that Watt relied for his knowledge on the *Edinburgh Review* rather than on an examination of the book itself. Neither listing carries any reference to a "Second Edition," the phrase that appears on the title-page of the copy in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas at Austin.

This first volume of translations of the *Heroides* contains seven epistles, those numbered 4, 5, 7, 10, 15, 16 and 17 in standard editions. Each is prefaced with a paragraph that states "The Argument," and is followed by a page or more of notes, for the most part comments on the persons or places mentioned in the text.

EDB, in an Advertisement for the second volume of his translation "of the fourteen remaining Epistles" [see item 4 below], wrote that "The testimonies of approbation on the First Volume, which the author has received from many quarters, have been flattering and encouraging beyond his most sanguine expectations," and then quoted from one of them. Whether any of these "testimonies" were published or all were personal communications I cannot tell. I do know, however, that the published review which appeared in the *Monthly Review* (vol. 88 [January to April 1819] 208-10), was less encouraging: "... we do not see, in the present specimens, any such decided proofs of poetical genius as to make us sanguine on the subject;"